



Oliver Cromwell.



Jn.^o Bradshaw.



Henry Ireton.



J^o Tho. Fairfax.



Robert Devereux.



1st Earl of Pembroke.

King Char^s.





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MEMOIRS
AND
REFLECTIONS
UPON THE
REIGN *and* GOVERNMENT
OF
King CHARLES the Ist.
AND
K. CHARLES the II^d.

Containing an ACCOUNT of several remarkable Facts not mentioned by other Historians of those Times: Wherein the Character of the ROYAL MARTYR, and of King CHARLES II. are Vindicated from Fanatical Aspersions.

Written by Sir RICHARD BULSTRODE,
Resident at *Brussels* to the Court of *Spain*, from
King CHARLES II. and Envoy from King JAMES II.
till the Revolution 1688.

Now First Published from his Original MANUSCRIPT.

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at the Bible and Crown in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1721.



TO THE

READER.



own Reputation, is obliged to satisfy
the Publick, that they are the genuine
Productions of that Best to which his
Title Page pretends to attribute them.
That these MEMOIRS may fall un-
der no Suspicion of being spurious, it
is necessary that I should account for



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READER.



WHEN the Posthumous Pieces of any Author have for some Years lain in Obscurity, and at last come into the World, the Publisher, for his own Reputation, is obliged to satisfy the Publick, that they are the genuine Productions of that Pen to which his Title Page pretends to ascribe them.

THAT these MEMOIRS may fall under no Suspensions of being spurious, it is necessary that I should account for
 A 2 their

To the Reader.

their coming into my Possession. When I was last Year in *Paris*, it was my good Fortune to contract some Acquaintance with a younger Son of Sir *Richard Bulstrode*, who then resided there, as Governour in the Family of the young Earl of *Fingal*. I had not long enjoy'd the Honour of his Conversation, before he frankly gave me the Copy of these MEMOIRS, with free Liberty to make them publick to the World, and assured me they were all wrote by the Hand of Sir *Richard* his Father. The Town is therefore indebted to this Gentleman's Generosity, and are to look upon me as an Agent that labours to be faithful in acquitting my self of a Charge intrusted to me.

I SHOULD have thought it a necessary Piece of Justice, to have made a Character of Sir *Richard Bulstrode* a Part of this Preface, but find all that is requisite on this Head is already done by *Whitlock Bulstrode*, Esq; likewise a Son of the Author, and who has obliged the Publick with a Volume of his Father's Essays,

To the Reader.

Essays, Printed in *Octavo* in the Year
1715, where the Reader may be enter-
tained with a preliminary Account, how
well Sir Richard was qualify'd both for
an Author and Statesman; who, should
young and in the Family of the Govern-
or. If these Sheets could stand in need
of any other Proof of their being ge-
nuine, than the Assertion I have given
from whose Hands I received them, I
could not desire a stronger concurring
Testimony than those Essays. Every
Judge, who will do himself the Plea-
sure of a Comparison, will find both
those and the MEMOIRS penn'd in the
same Style, and with the same Cast of
Thought and Spirit of Language. The
Contents being Matter of Fact, they
should neither be partial, nor of a Par-
ty; yet if some will think he reflects
too severely, let them consider he wrote
at a Time when Faction and Presbytery
had undone his Royal Master, and left
a very poor Prospect of the Kingdom
itself escaping from their Rancour.

Nath. Mist.



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this Book.

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

Reign and Government

OF

K. CHARLES the 1st.



T is natural for all Men, when streightened with Fears, to run for Shelter to what their Fancy presents as an Instrument of their Ease and Remedy; but he that hath Time to deliberate, unless he places his Hopes upon something that is like to ease his Pain, by making his Afflictions less, or his Patience

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tience more, deserves that Misery he groans under: But Afflictions which come by God's Appointment, represent the Sadness of Mortality, and become Monuments of Mens Piety and Devotion. In the unnatural War, which the Subjects of King *Charles I.* began against their most lawful Sovereign, contrary to all Solemnities of Christianity, and of all that is called Good, I was then very young, and in a Labyrinth, not knowing well which Way to go; but at last I resolved to go to *Whitehall*, with some Gentlemen of the *Inner-Temple*, being then newly come thither from *Cambridge*, where I had been bred, in *Pembroke-Hall*. I was brought up to *London* by my Father, from *Coventry*, where we then dwelt: We were all brought into the King's Presence by the Lord Chamberlain, and had the Honour to kiss the King's Hands, who took our Coming very kindly, and at the same time told us, he hoped he should have no need of our Service.

About this Time, the King, and the Laws, (who by God and Man respectively are appointed the sole Protectors of Innocence and Truth) had themselves, I thought, the greatest need of a Protector; and when I consider'd our King's Case, in the Beginning of his Troubles, methought it was much like to that of King *David*, who was vexed with a Civil War, both by his Son *Absalom*, and by his own People: But the Case of our King was worse than that of King *David*; for the Text says, his Enemies kept about him like *Bees*, and were extinct; there was
as if he were stung * some

Reign of K. CHARLES I. 3

some Honey with them; but our King's Enemies came about him like Hornets, where there was all Sting, and no Honey. And indeed the King's Case was rather like that of *Isaac* ready to be sacrificed; the Wood was prepared, the Fire kindled, the Knife was lift up, and the Hand was striking; and if the King's loyal Subjects had not been something like *Abraham* too, having, out of Hope, believed in Hope, we had been as much without Comfort, as we were in outward Appearance without Remedy. Indeed I then saw such unparallel'd Revolutions in our *English* Monarchy, as I hope will never be imitated, and will be scarce credited in After-Ages; whereupon I have thought it worth my Time to give some Account of those great and strange Transactions, wherein I was personally engag'd, which are still fresh in my Memory, having faithfully served King *Charles I.* from the Year 1640, which Civil War ended not till 1648, in the most deplorable Murder of the best of Kings, whose Cause at last God so owned, and so vindicated his Honour, that never Prince was more truly lamented, nor his Posterity, by divine Providence, more wonderfully re-established, without the Assistance of any foreign Power, tho' his rebellious Subjects used all possible Diligence, (which either Wit or Malice could invent) to extirpate the Royal Family, both Root and Branch.

I presume, the Duty of my publick Employments abroad, under King *Charles II.* and King *James II.* will in some Measure plead my Excuse

for giving some Relations of the War of King *Charles I.* which have not yet been mention'd, and of those sudden Changes, and violent Revolutions happen'd in the last Age; and being now grown old to all worldly Pleasures, after many long and faithful Services to the Crown, and being wholly unacquainted with the Knowledge of Riches, or with the Cares of increasing them, or the Fears of losing them, and finding little Taste in common Conversation, I have spent my latter Years in writing some Memoirs, Poems, and other Discourses, to shew that I have not spent my last Days in Idleness and Vanity; and that since I can no longer live in an active Life, I may not die an unprofitable Servant. And yet I have but small Inclination to write, when the Number of Scribblers in this last Age hath given the World a Surfeit, by the mischievous Liberty of Writing, whereby great Advantage hath been taken, to corrupt People with false Notions of Government, which hath destroyed Millions of Men, by engaging them in such a Rebellion, as no Age or Nation can equal, under Pretence of Religion and Law: And tho' at first it did not break out into Blood, but was carried on for some time with Paper Skirmishes, yet at last it grew too strong for both; and according to the usual Practice, when any Rebellion was hatching, they that designed it, immediately cry'd out, *Hannibal ad portas*, and that what they did, was to preserve their Religion, Laws, Liberties and Properties, when none of them were

in

Reign of K. CHARLES I. 5

in Danger; and when they most flattered their Sovereign, and called God to witness the Purity of their Intentions, even then they were preparing their Weapons to murder him. And as it is seen in natural Bodies, that Fatness of Diet doth for the most Part lay the Foundation of Maladies, which cannot be expell'd by the most skillful Physician, without the Use of some extraordinary Medicines; so, in our Body Politick, we were bless'd with long Peace, with Riches and Plenty the Product of it, and by the propitious Influence of our King, when we thus flourished, we went only to throw away those blessed Fruits of Peace, so that the whole Body Politick was quickly out of Order: And tho' perhaps there were some Errors and Irregularities in the Government, yet they proceeded not from any Pravity of Disposition in the King, nor from any Principles of Arbitrary Government; it being confessed by the King's greatest Enemies, that he was indued with the best and purest Morals, of any Prince that ever held the *English* Scepter. But his People thought that some evil Counsellours did captivate him at their Pleasure, and did thrust his Majesty into Actions prejudicial to himself and the common Good; upon which they were invited by that rebellious Parliament to take Arms, under the plausible Shew of Reformation and Liberty, when many of them, in the Simplicity of their Hearts, never had the least Intention of abridging the King of any of his just Prerogative, but only to restrain some Excesses in

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Government, which they really thought were the Excrescences of sovereign Power, and were rather Burthens than Ornaments of his royal Diadem. Indeed his very Example would have had a greater Influence upon his Subjects, than the strictest Laws. He was so great a Lover of Justice, and so great a Justiciar himself, that no Temptations could dispose him to a wrongful Action, unless it were so disguised to him, that he believed it to be just; and yet I cannot but confess, that a Prince's Fame, in this World, depends more upon his wise Administration, than upon his private Morality and good Life. The Goodness of his Government depends chiefly upon those that advise him, who are to yield unto their Prince all the Reputation arising from their good Counsels, and never to intercept the Honour of them from the King: It being an infallible Maxim, That he is not the worst King, that is the worst Man, but he who hath the worst Counsellours and Instruments under him.

The Laws of *England* making them the only Persons obnoxious to be arraigned and punished, being in the King's Confidence, and in the Head of his Affairs, these should have been pitched upon to answer criminally for all those things which were then called Miscarriages; the Law having mark'd them out as Offenders, and as Offerings of Attonement for the King's Faults (were he guilty of any) but instead of this, the King (whom all the Laws of the Land, and the Constitution it self, hold not only unpunishable,

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punishable, but innocent) was elected as the Scape-Goat, to have the Offences of his Ministers, and the subordinate Tools of the Government, transmitted and laid upon him.

Thus Rebels are never without some Pretext to palliate their Actions; and rather than fail, will make their Vizard of Religion, which (if true) is a Setler, not a Stickler in Government: She confirms Men in Obedience, and does not encourage them in Rebellion. It is a great Mistake indeed, to think Peace is well enough preserved, if the Sword be not drawn, and think it not War, because we do not take the Field; whereas, we may as well call it Health, when there is a dangerous Fermentation in the Blood, because the Patient hath not taken his Bed: For certainly, where there is not a firm Trust between the King and his People, from a due Obedience to his Laws and Government, and a steady Care not to remove the ancient Landmarks, not to disturb those Constitutions, which the Wisdom of our Ancestors hath settled, in order to preserve the whole Frame of the Government upon the old Foundations: When any of these fail, the Kingdom must needs fall into Confusion, as was miserably seen in the Time of this unhappy Prince.

But, to find the Beginning of these Evils, we must look back as far as Queen *Elizabeth*, where we shall discover the Presbyterians contriving what they have since put in Execution, to the eternal Scandal of the *English* Nation. Their Religion hath always been imperious,

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turbulent, and bloody, and hath embroil'd all Places with Rebellion, where it once got Footing, from its first Rise at *Geneva*, to its Remove into *France*, from thence into *Holland*, so into *Scotland*, and from thence to its Arrival in *England*. They are impatient of any kind of Government; Theocracy it self would not please them, for they conclude against all Governments. From their first Institution, they shewed their Hatred against Monarchs, and they still glory to have had a principal Part in most of the Commotions of Christendom, since they took up the Work of Reformation; and by their frequent Insurrections in *England*, they gave the first Occasion of saying, *Rex Angliæ, Rex Diabolorum*. The rest of Schismatics are but their Spawn; Calvin first founded his Presbyteryⁱⁿ and Treason: For when they at *Geneva* had, in his Absence, expell'd their lawful Prince, he not only encourag'd, but confirm'd what they had done, at his Return. Presbytery never was received into any State, where it did not embroil; never any Man was possessed with it, whom it did not strangely transform with Moroseness; all their Writings are stuff'd with reproachful Language against the sacred Persons of Princes, with Dethroning Principles, and King-killing Doctrines, as may be seen in *Calvin's Institutions*, in that of *Junius Brutus*, in *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*, written by *Beza*, and *Knox's Appellation to the People*, and *Buchanan's Jus Regni apud Scotos*, which he had the Impudence to dedicate to King *James*;
in

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in which Book, and others of their Writings, they say, The People are the Original of all just Power, and that wicked Kings, for their Misgovernment, may be put to Death by their Subjects: An impious Principle! justly condemn'd, and fitted only for the Mouth of a *Ravilliac*. History tells us, that, in the Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, and King *Charles I.* the Presbyterians were always grumbling and murmuring against the Times, their whole Practice being to deprive God of his Glory, the Prince of his Honour, and the People of their Senses, affirming the Condition of *England* was miserable. In the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*, the Pulse of the People began to beat high (by the Instigation of the Presbyterians) towards an Aristocratical Government, under a Kingly Title, and the malicious Enemies of the Church and State did then begin to appear; but that watchful Queen was soon alarmed, and so asserted her Prerogative, that she kept all in their Duty: She declared, and protested publicly, that no Trouble should arrive to the *Roman* Catholicks, for any Difference in Religion (which did much abate the Opposition which might possibly have been made by them) hoping for fair Quarter under her Government. She knew well, that a King or Queen of *England*, how sovereign soever, could not establish a new Religion in their Kingdom, without the Authority and Countenance of a Parliament; and therefore, to win the Bishops, and the rest of the *Roman* Catholicks in Parliament, at least

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least to Obedience, she was content to use Policy with them, and would qualify the Style of Supreme Head of the Church and State, to that of Supreme Governour, which, tho' it alter'd not the Sense, yet it abused many into a Belief or Conceit, that the Queen pretended not so much Primacy Ecclesiastick as the King her Father had done, who was the first King of *England* that ever gave Cause to try the admirable Patience and Obedience of his Catholick Subjects, who took not Arms against their Sovereign, and had no other Weapons but *Præces & Lachrymæ*, the Prayers and Tears of the Church for their Refuge.

Indeed Queen *Elizabeth* was so careful, that the Parliament could make no Impression upon her Sovereignty; and tho' the Cry of Persecution was pretty loud, and that the Enemies of Church and State were troublesome to her, yet, by her constant Resolution, she was not overborne by any Faction; and finding it easier to crop them in the Bud, than to pull them up by the Roots, she took the right Course with them, by putting the Schismaticks under the Statute of Recusancy, equal with the *Roman* Catholicks, whereby she quieted All; and often declared in Parliament, That both Houses had only Authority to advise and consent to what they thought was for the common Good and Benefit of her Subjects: And wherever the Prince is not jealous of Underminers, and active to preserve the establish'd Government, there will never want Spirits to attempt a Change, and
make

Reign of K. CHARLES I. II

make Religion a Shelter for their Rebellion. It is certain, the *English* have always loved those Princes best, who grounded their Power in the Affections of their People, who ruled them by their old Laws, and used such moderate Power, as was consistent with their Government, rather than such as aim'd at any Change, which might tend to subvert their ancient Constitution; and seldom any Prince hath miscarried, who constantly pursued the publick Good, and directed all his Counsels to his Country's Ease; but those Princes have been full of disastrous Troubles, who have obstinately adhered to a Few, against the Whole, and have conferred that Affection to particular Persons, which should be extended to the universal Body of the People.

The Truth is, the Excellency of Queen *Elizabeth's* Government was, that, at her first Coming to the Crown, she found a Council of able Ministers (which in the last Age were not seen) which she continued, who managed the publick Affairs with such prudent Conduct, that their Counsels and Actions, as they were either Gown or Sword Men, gave great Satisfaction, and had great Influence upon the whole Nation. But her Successor, King *James*, was not so wary, who came to the Crown under many Difficulties; for, the Mixture of a Stranger Nation, formerly upon no good Terms with *England*, the Subjection of it to a Stranger Prince, whose Nature and Disposition being unknown, could not but prove of very ill Consequence, who let that ill Humour in the People

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ple imbibe so fast, that it soon bred in them a violent Contumacy against the Prerogative: And this King *James* minding his Pleasures more than his Business, his Favourites were more esteemed than his Statesmen; who thereupon permitted his Favourite *Scotchmen* (coming out of a poor mountainous Country, into a rich Soil) to make a Harvest of the Crown Revenue; and when handsome Mr. *Villiers* was brought into Favour (for Handsomness went a great Way in our Court) he came suddenly to have so prodigious an Ascent upon the King, that he entirely disposed of all his Favours, and did whatever he pleas'd.

In the Beginning of this King's Government, the King had no great Choice of excellent Men; and Mr. *Villiers's* Ascent was so quick, that it seem'd rather a Flight than a Growth; and he was such a Darling of Fortune, as if he had been born a Favourite, being Supreme the first Month he came to Court. However, he was very unfortunate in the Election of his Dependants, few of his Servants being qualified enough to advise him, and were intent only of growing rich under him, and not upon their Master's being as Good as Great. And if this great Favourite had been so happy as to have had but one faithful Friend, that Person might have done great Service to both his Masters, even to Father and Son. In King *James* the Father's Time, he took the Prince of *Wales* into *Spain*, contrary to the King's Opinion, who yet submitted to him; and upon a particular
Discon-

Reign of K. CHARLES I. 13

Discontent of his own, broke the intended Marriage, and brought back the Prince, to the great Satisfaction both of King and People; which Action was so highly approved in the last Parliament of that King, that the Duke of *Bucks* was called, The Saviour of the People; and the Earl of *Bristol* then Ambassador at *Madrid*, was recalled, and Articles exhibited against him by the Duke, and by his Interest was kept out of the House of Lords. Now all that happen'd in *Spain* is here very well worth relating, which I have had from a very sure Hand, which hath been kept private from many.

The Earl of *Bristol* was employ'd Ambassador in *Spain* by King *James*, to treat of the Marriage with the then *Infanta* of *Spain*. The King of *Spain* being zealous for the *Roman* Catholick Religion, insisted to procure some Favours for the *English Roman* Catholicks, which related no farther, than to a Freedom of Religion for the *Infanta*, her Servants, and the Children of the Marriage, and her Ecclesiasticks and Religious, which could not be done, without the King's particular Licence and Dispensation; to which the King assented. But this Affair being longer delayed, the *Spanish* King urged farther, in Favour of the *English Roman* Catholicks in general (but the Manner and Way of doing it, was to be left to his Majesty's Wisdom :) Whereupon King *James* and Prince *Charles* both signed; and King *James*, for farther Satisfaction, did, by the Lord *Conway*, his then Secretary of State, dated Aug. 7. 1623. declare and engage,
That

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That his said Majesty would cause a present Suspension, under the Great Seal of *England*, of all those penal Laws whereunto his *Roman* Catholick Subjects were before subject, and under the same Great Seal would give a Dispensation and Toleration to all his *Roman* Catholick Subjects, as well Priests as temporal Persons. The Marriage not taking Effect, and Animosities happening betwixt the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Earl of *Bristol*, the Earl, before King *James's* Death having been impeached in Parliament; yet he wrought so with the House of Commons, as to impeach the Duke, who then prevailed with his present Majesty, that the Impeachment of the Earl should be first try'd in the same Parliament, thereby to cause the Earl to forbear Prosecution of his Charge against the Duke, or to invalidate his Testimony. One of the Articles charged against the Earl of *Bristol* was, *That he counselled and perswaded King James, to grant and allow the Papists free Toleration, and silencing all Laws made against them.* But the Earl positively denied this Article, and said, it was only declared, *That he would dispense with the Laws, which imported no more than a Permission to exercise their Religion in private Houses, and to suspend the Execution of the Laws against them for a time; all which the King had Power to do:* But to grant a free Toleration, imports an Allowance of publick Worship, and the silencing all Laws against them, might import a total Repeal, *which the King did not claim a Right*
to

Reign of K. CHARLES I. 15

to do himself. When the Impeachment was brought into the Lords House, the Earl of *Bristol* did put in his Answer to it, and positively denied, that he had counselled any thing in the Matter charged, and declared fully what was done, and what was signed by the late King *James*, and King *Charles*; as also the Declaration made by the Lord *Conway*, by the King's Order; and added, *That the Duke of Buckingham being then the greatest Minister of State, and Favourite to King James, did advise all things in the Affair: That the Lord Conway certainly signed the Declaration.* The Earl wanted neither Wit nor Courage to charge the Duke with Crimes as distasteful as he could find any; and he spared not the Lord *Conway*, who was the Duke's Friend, and must have been the best Witness to save the Duke, in case the Charge had been prosecuted. The Parliament then sitting was as diligent to enquire into Misdemeanours, as much displeased with the Duke, and as little fond of the Lord *Conway*, then Secretary of State, and were as much enclined to enquire into the too much advancing or stretching the King's Prerogative, to the Prejudice of the Subject, and against the Laws, as any Parliament which ever sat in *England*. Yet neither did the Parliament, or the Earl of *Bristol*, charge any thing against the Duke, or the Lord *Conway*, for advising to dispense with Penal Laws, nor did the Parliament prosecute the Earl of *Bristol* upon the Impeachment against him, tho' he was thereby particularly charged
for

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for advising the King to dispense with the Penal Laws. Now, if King James and King Charles I. did pass any Act of Parliament (as some affirm) to bar themselves or the Crown of this Right, the same could be only intended as to the ordinary Exercise of that Right, but not to the extraordinary, where the publick Good requires the same should be exercised. The King's Proceedings were to be thus intended, and not otherwise, which was proved by the King's continual Exercise of that Power, in the Suspension of Penal Laws, never questioned or complained of, but still submitted unto, and admitted as legal; as namely, those touching the Importation of French Wines: And it was clear by his Majesty's Practice for many Years, that he thought it both reasonable and legal, to continue the Dispensations by which his Majesty suspended many Laws, without any Opposition.

About this Time a War was declared with Spain, which was carried on by the violent Humour of the Duke, whose Power was so great, that he govern'd all without a Rival; which Preheminence he managed very unthriftilly, disposing of all Places to his own Relations, where there was ^{any} Advantage or Profit to be had. This Partiality shewed the Duke's Weakness, and was much unbecoming the Greatness of the King his Master, whose Honour should shine upon the whole Body of his People, as the Sun sheds his Influence, warming all Parts of the Earth. And where Kings shew themselves

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selves partial to a Party, they are usually served by the worst of the People, and are often forced to protect the Bad against the Good, as we have often seen in our late Revolutions: Not that Subjects repine, that Princes should have Friends with whom they may communicate their Thoughts, and unbend their Cares, nor to see such better'd by their Favours, which is warranted by the Example of the best of Kings, who must sometimes recreate themselves, and not be always upon their Thrones, which would too much weary them. Greatness must be set aside sometimes, the better to be relished: But Subjects do behold with Indignation, Men to be exalted, who abuse their Prince's Favours, and by false Representations, traduce all others, that they may ingross the Prince to themselves, without Regard to the King's Honour, when their particular Advantage or Safety is in Question. Such Ministers are generally hated, and the People commonly reach their Heads at last. Wise Princes should never protect such Ministers; for when Princes bring Projectors into the Administration of their Affairs, who are Inventors of new Taxes, they bring an Odium upon their Master; and the Ignorance of such Men brings more Necessities upon the Prince, than their Arts of raising Money can supply. None but wanting Princes employ such Men, who sometimes can skin over a Sore, which after breaks out with greater Rancour: Whereas wise Statesmen would, by wholesom Counsel, obviate the Danger in its Growth, and restrain their King's extravagant
C Bountty,

Bounty, before he hath nothing left to give: For the Bounty of a Prince often frights Men from meddling in their Affairs. I know, Liberality is counted the proper Virtue of a Prince, it being much better for him to be profuse, than avaritious, Prodigality having the Resemblance of something more noble, than Avarice, and really it is less odious; and they that gain by it, make it pass for a Virtue, but perhaps it is more prejudicial to Posterity, and no less dangerous than the other Extreme. For if a King give away his whole Kingdom, he cannot satisfy all that ask, no, nor all that think they deserve much from him. It is then more convenient to give with Reason, and never to draw so near the Bottom, but that Princes may always have wherewith to gratify Persons of Merit; and above all, they should take especial Care, that their Liberality be exercised without Oppression of their People, to avoid Murmuring, which may produce Rebellion. Wise Kings should never give, till their Coffers are full; for the Measures of Bounty ought to be taken from the Plenty of the Giver, as well as the Merit of the Receiver: And Kings seldom hurt themselves by giving what is actually in their Keeping, for Reward of particular Merit, but giving things they never had (as King *James I.* actually did to his Favourites) of which they know not the Value, is the Ruin of Princes Treasure, and consequently of their Affairs. For the Necessities of wanting Princes make them repeat Taxes, which loses them the Affection

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Affection of their Subjects; and Thrift hath ever been esteemed a Point of good Wisdom in Kings, who should stand firm against all particular Suits, so that no Case, upon what Grace soever, may break the Rule; for if one strong Sheep breaks the Hedge, a Hundred little ones will follow: And therefore the first thing a King should learn to say, is *No*, and that so resolutely, as never to be asked twice, nor once importunately: For one extravagant Gift to one, raises the Market to every Man else; and the unlimited Bounty of a wanting Prince, makes him a Beggar, tho' he have a vast Revenue: And that Prince, who will give more to Importunity than Merit, may as reasonably forbid his Subjects doing well, upon Penalty of being undone by it. Where Princes give, because they are importun'd, and where the less useful Part of the People have most Credit with their King, this shews, the Way to get every thing, is to be good for nothing; and tho' the servile Part of Mankind are apt to extol, not only generous Princes, but those that are profuse; yet if we consider the Story of the *Roman* Empire, we shall find their Decadence took its Rise principally from this profuse Temper, and that their Prodigality drove them to Want, and made them oppress, and become odious to their People, by their frequent Taxes. But we need not now make Laws against giving too much, Princes are not so free in this Age, and we want no Overseer of that kind, in our Court, at *St. Germaine's*, where we live upon Alms.

The good Emperor, *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*, in his Nature very bountiful, having given the People a larger Donative than usual, was yet so frugal of the publick Money, that, upon an Expedition against the *Scythians*, he would not draw any Sum from the Treasury, without first asking Leave of the Senate, affirming that he had nothing in particular, and not so much as the House he lived in. And being another Time pressed by his Army, for a Donative, after a signal Victory, he refused it, saying, *The more I give the young Soldiers, the more I must oppress their Parents.* And therefore the Romans well answer'd one of their Emperors demanding double Taxes: *O Emperor, if thou wilt have double Taxes, we must have double Harvests.* Kings are Fathers of their Country, but unless they keep their own Estates, they are such Fathers as the Sons maintain, which is against the Order of Nature, and the less a Father depends upon his Children, the more he is certainly respected.

The Love of Subjects is not obtained by Money, but by wise Government, and good Conduct; and all People, even Soldiers, reverence their Prince more, who keeps something in his Power to give, than he who gives all away; Expectation and Hope carrying Men farther than the Sense of past or present Benefits, and good Princes desire to make their People easy. King *Charles I.* of *England* never refused to ease his People of any Grievance, and passed more Acts of Grace for the Benefit of his Subjects, than
 any

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any five Kings or Queens had done before him. He granted an Act of Triennial Parliament, and the perpetuating of them, was an Act unparallel'd by any of his Predecessors: And good Subjects should never think it just, that the King's Condition should be worse, by bettering theirs. But our good King counted himself undiminished by his largest Concessions, thinking by them to gain the Love of his People, being perswaded he could not grant too much, nor distrust too little, to Men that being professedly his Subjects, pretended singular Piety, and religious Strictness. But our King was much mistaken, for no Fountain of Royal Bounty was able to satisfy their *Corban* of Religion: And it is sure, had that good King yielded less, he had been opposed less; and had he denied more, he had been more obeyed. Princes should therefore take Care of running with the Stream; for, chusing a crooked Course, for fear of the Torrent, is not commonly very dangerous.

The Honour of a King consists chiefly in doing good to the universal Body of his People, which good *Charles* aim'd at, there being nothing so glorious for a Prince, as to let his People enjoy Ease and Plenty, and not to enrich a few Persons with the Spoils of a whole Country. *Henry IV.* of *France* said, he hoped so to order Matters, that every Man in his Kingdom might have a boil'd Capon for his Dinner. Certainly, no Apothegm, so much by the Ancients commended, could so well become the Mouth

of a great King, as this well-natur'd Saying; and it is probable, had he lived, he would have made good his Word, which would have been a more durable Triumph to his Fame, than all his great Victories; and his Example, who, by his Frugality, brought the Crown of *France* out of Debt, is to be preferred to that of *Henry III.* of *France*, who harassed his whole Kingdom, to build up four or five great Families, whereby he left behind him so many conspicuous Monuments of his Folly and Weakness. And our King *James I.* followed the Measures of *Henry III.* in his most extravagant Bounties, which caused the then Lord Treasurer to put upon a long Table, where the King was to pass by that Morning, a large Sum of Money in Silver, which the King had given to one of his Favourites the Night before: The King being much surprized with the Sight, (having never seen so much Money before together) asked the Treasurer, who was behind him, what that Money was for? who said, it was for such a Person, naming him to whom the King had given it: To which the King presently replied (with his usual Oath) it was much more than any Man could deserve from him, and commanded the Treasurer to pay him only one Quarter of it. This made the King more careful of his future Bounties; tho' I may truly say, that this King (tho' to his own Prejudice) had more Compassion of other Mens Necessities, than of his own Coffers; for, in Liberality, he exceeded, by many Degrees, all the Kings

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Kings that ever went before him: And it had been much better for King *Charles*, his Successor, if his Liberality had not been so great; for by that means, he left his Successor much indebted, which prov'd infinitely prejudicial both to the King and Kingdom.

Now, whosoever hath read King *James's* Works, will find therein most rational and politick Discourses of the Nature of Government, and the good Temper of the *English* Monarchy, where there is no unnatural Swelling of Power, nor Liberty; for these two are like Heat and Moisture, where they are well mix'd, every thing prospers, but where they are single, they are destructive; and our true lawful Government in *England* is like our Climate, where there are sometimes unquiet loud Winds, which, tho' troublesome, yet they clear the Air, and much of Mens Healths is owing to them. Absolute Power is a Plant that will not grow upon *English* Ground; those who have attempted to cultivate it in that Soil, have hastned their own Ruine. All Men must confess, that King *James's* Discourses in Parliaments were admirable, but the practical Part was wanting; for his remiss and loose Government was a great Cause of our following Disorders: For, finding no Money could be raised, to supply his Necessities, and extravagant Bounties, but by Parliament, he therefore still caressed them, thinking that Way to prevent the ill Humour, which lay in the Stomach of the Nation, which then began to shew it self more publickly; and he

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would often say, he was but One King, that, in his House of Commons, were near Five Hundred; and whilst he liv'd in *Scotland*, his Presbyterian Subjects so much teased, and so often imprisoned him, that he had as good almost been one of the Kings of *Brentford*, as King of *Scotland*. However, this King, contented with those Dominions which he had by an undisputed Succession, coveted nothing more from his Neighbours, nor had other Thoughts or Wishes, besides those of the common Peace and Repose of Christendom, and had therefore a just Motto given to his Arms, *Beati Pacifici*. He had so much Cunning, that he still held well with his Parliaments, and desired to be beloved, rather than feared by them: For Power, without Love, hath a terrifying Aspect, and the Worship paid to it, is like that which the *Indians* give, out of Fear, to wild Beasts and Devils. And as he that fears God, only because he is Almighty, wishes there was no God; so he that fears the King, only because he can punish, wishes there was no King; and therefore a King cannot take too much Care to keep himself up: For if a King lets his People slip from him, he is no longer really their King, but the People may let a King fall, and still remain a People.

In this Conjunction, after Twenty Two Years peaceably reigning in *England*, King *James I.* died, leaving his Son, then King *Charles*, his Successor, engag'd in a War with *Spain*, by Advice of Parliament, without Supplies to support

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port it, and left his own Debts great, by his immoderate Bounty; to which a great Addition was made, upon King *Charles's* coming first to the Crown, and many Inconveniencies were then submitted to, for Supply, contrary to former Laws; and Miscarriages in Government escaped in the Beginning of this King's Reign, which happened thro' the ill Counsel of some Men, driving on their own private Ends, and the Peevishness of some others, envying the Publick should be managed without them, join'd with the insuperable Necessities of State, rather than from any Propensity in the King, who was free from any Injuriousness, or Oppression of his People.

The Duke of *Buckingham* was at this time received into an admired Intimacy and Dearness by the King, and a Marriage was soon concluded with the Princess *Henrietta Maria* of *France*, and the Duke was sent thither to conduct her to the King. A little after this a Parliament was called, the House of Commons, upon their first Assembly, pressed for Redress of Grievances, and against Recusants, and they gave the King two Subsidies, which did not answer his Wants and Expectations, nor at all satisfy; and the King finding the Parliament more stiff than he expected, he soon dissolved them; that sower Humour against Kingly Prerogative being then very predominant in the House of Commons; and the Duke, who, in the last Parliament of King *James*, was stiled, The Saviour of the People, in bringing Home the

the then Prince of *Wales*, was now called, The Destroyer of the People, and more cry'd down, than he was before cry'd up, and was named, the Corrupter of the King, and principal Cause of all Disorder, who had betrayed the Subjects Liberties, and his ill Management was made the Pretext for not assisting the King in Parliament, as the State of the King's Affairs then required; who used all possible Means to satisfy a discontented People, but could not. The late Parliament, before their Dissolution, declared, the King had sent Ships into *France*, to assist the *French* King against his Protestant Subjects at *Rochel*, which was by the Duke's Interest, without acquainting the Council of State, which much exasperated the People, who complain'd, that the Duke had not made the Match with *Spain*, out of a particular Spleen against the *Conde d'Olivares*, and had made it with *France*, upon much harder Terms.

The Duke being hereupon questioned in Parliament, made a plausible Answer: However, the House of Commons resolved against any farther Supply (except the two Subsidies they had given) without Redress of Grievances. After the Dissolution of this first Parliament, some provisional Acts of State were made, to supply the Defects in Law, and a Proclamation was published against Catholics, to give the People some Satisfaction, and a Fleet was sent out by the Duke against *Cadiz*, but returned with ill Success.

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In *February* following, a second Parliament was called, and the King was soon after crowned. The Lord Keeper then made a Speech to the Parliament, declaring the King's Love to them, striving whether he should be a greater King, or a better Man; and that they were called to make good Laws, and execute Justice. The House of Commons presently fell upon Grievances, the Miscarriage of the *Cadiz* Voyage, the Misemployment of the King's Revenue, and reflected much upon the Duke, and several bold Speeches were made against him, and great Animosities still continued betwixt the Duke and the Earl of *Bristol*. The King demands of the Parliament a present Supply, and desired they would rather redress, than inquire into Grievances. The House of Commons exhibited Articles against the Duke, desiring he might have no more Access to the King, and agreed upon a Remonstrance against the Duke, and pray'd the King not to dissolve them. The Duke being much transported with this Usage, prevailed with the King to dissolve them, and fell into such Anger against some principal Members, that they were imprisoned or disgraced soon after Dissolution. From this time the People were generally apprehensive of an arbitrary Government, and were much unsatisfied with the excessive Greatness of the Duke, who had a greater Ascendant upon his new Master, the present King, than upon his Predecessor; which was much wondred at, that the same Person should be the prime Favourite both to
Father

Father and Son, which bred a great Distemper of Humours in the Court, which soon descended into the Country, and the Displeasure to the Favourite soon seized their Duty to their Prince. Kings raise some Men so high, as to over-top All, and keep them under; but it is dangerous to bestow too much upon one Man, for there is no Man fitting to be a King, but he that is a King; and when Kings are immoderate in bestowing their Power, it many times brings much Woe to the People, much Danger to the Person in Power, and not seldom, much Sorrow to the King himself: And a wise Prince will not oblige his Courtiers, who are Birds of Prey, to disoblige his Subjects, who are Beasts of Burthen. It was indeed look'd upon as a rare Felicity, and seldom known, that the Duke should be in greater Favour with the Son, than he was with the Father: For, the new King, from the Death of the old King, even to the Death of the Duke himself, discover'd the most entire Confidence, and even Friendship, to the Duke, that ever King shewed to any Subject; all Preferments were given by him; all his Friends and Kindred to that Degree in Honour, Riches, or Offices, as the Duke thought fit; all his Enemies discountenanced, as he appointed: But it was strange, that he should so suddenly fall, from the greatest Heighth of popular Estimation, to the lowest Depth of Calumny and Reproach, by perswading the King to dissolve Parliaments, which proved most pernicious to the Duke himself; for, in the first Parliament
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of this King, tho' most of the same Persons were chosen, who so passionately adhered to him before, the Affection they had then for him, even of the same Men, was turned into Animosity against him, and that in so high a Nature, that all the Actions of his Life were ript up, Votes and Remonstrances passed against him, as an Enemy to the Publick, and his ill managing of the King's Grace and Favour to him, made the Ground of their Refusal to give the King that Supply which he expected, and was highly necessary for the King, in that Conjunction. Here all the People's Discontents were laid upon the Duke, in respect of the mighty Share he had in his Majesty's Favour and Affection, and that he managed his Power, to the Eclipse of all other great Men, and moulded the Court to the Advantage principally of his own Family, thinking thereby to strengthen himself (instead of endeavouring to mollify the Misunderstandings betwixt the King and his People, which was his true Interest:) But the Duke's Want of Experience, having never seen or felt the Reverse of Fortune, made him too great an Enterprizer, to succeed in what he so unadvisedly undertook, and so precipitately, and for his own Satisfaction; and, upon his single Discontent, first ran the late King into a War with *Spain*, which proved both fruitless and burthensome to him. And thus the Throne was endanger'd by him, whose Obligation and true Interest it was to uphold it; and King *Charles* did not only succeed to his Royal Father's Crown,

Crown, but Troubles, who was left involved in most strange Intrigues and Difficulties, the Counsels of his Ministers being not then conducted according to those Rules and Measures of Policy, which the Circumstances and Necessities of the King's Affairs required; which, if they had been well managed, had easily prevented the cruel Rebellion which afterwards followed.

Thus we see Princes cannot be secure, when leading Men in their own Courts fall into Faction; and when there is most need of Concord and Unity, Mens Minds are then most disunited, and, contrary to ancient Prudence, when *England* wanted the best, the worst Men were set at the Head of Business; and our then most unhappy King, was, by Diversity of Counsels, drawn oftentimes from his own Judgment, (which was better than theirs) and was forced many times to court those he hated, and to frown upon those, whose Abilities and faithful Services to the Crown he secretly approved; which is usually the Fate of such Princes who are drawn into Streights, either by their Predecessors, or their own Negligence; and at this time the greatest Part of the King's Counsel where wholly taken up in the Improvement of their own Fortunes, or Gratification of their Pleasures which they earnestly affected, and had so much to do for themselves, that they wholly neglected the King's Affairs, and those which were most able, were frighted from meddling in them; and when those Ministers, whose Steadiness of Judgment, and Directness

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of Application to their Master's and the Kingdom's Honour and Advantage, estrange themselves from Court, it abates Mens Confidence in the successful Course of Affairs.

The King being put to these Streights, Tonnage and Pondage were levied by Order from the Board, and likewise Loan Money and Benevolence taken; and the Duke finding the King somewhat unsatisfied with the *French* King, and that the Queen's Servants were sending Home, his Grace soon changed the Scene, and caused the King to declare War against *France*, and went in Person to the Isle of *Rhee*, to assist the *Rochellers* against their King; but he was there defeated, and this Repulse was more unfortunate than that of *Cadix*. But, in *March* following, another Parliament was call'd, and the King spake to them, to expedite Business, shewed them the common Danger, moved for a Supply, and told them plainly, if they did not do their Duty, he should be obliged to use other Measures, which would not be so pleasing to them: But however, the House of Commons fell upon Grievances, before Supply, and after many Debates, and some Conferences, the Petition of Right was settled by Act of Parliament, and several other Acts passed, and then the Parliament was prorogued till *October*.

In this Interval the Duke resolved upon a second Attempt against *France*, and was preparing for it at *Portsmouth*, but was prevented by his sudden Murder, which gave the King much Sorrow and Trouble: And as the Duke, during
Life,

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Life, was unfortunate in publick Affairs, so his sudden Death produced a Change in all Counsels; it being first generally agreed, that the King should make a Peace with both Crowns, since the War could not be carried on without Supplies, and the Parliament was farther prorogued, till *January*, which was ill taken. And Kings of *England* will never do well, to fence with the Inclinations of their Parliaments, or Discontents of their People; they must shew they have no other Interests, but those of their Subjects in general; for Partiality in a Prince produces Heart-Burnings, to see some few lifted up high, wallowing in Wealth and Pleasures, while the People groan under heavy Taxes. A Government is never well establish'd but in the Hearts of the Subjects, nor so hard to be shaken, as when the Generality of the People, as well as the Nobility, are intirely satisfied; which they will never be, till they see Men chosen into Offices, by being fit for them, and continued for discharging well, and rewarded for extraordinary Merit, and punished for remarkable Faults. In such Cases, the King discharges the Severity of all Punishments upon the Parliament, and commits no Force upon the Gentleness of his own Nature, when his Subjects see, that no Tenderness of their Prince, nor Corruption of his Ministers, can preserve them from paying what they owe to any Forfeits of their Duty; nor indeed can any Prince do Justice to those that serve him well, without punishing those that

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serve him ill, since that is to make their Conditions equal, whose Deserts are different. And therefore Kings should not only consent to, but encourage any Inquiries a Parliament shall make into the Miscarriages of Ministers, and join willingly with them therein: But whether, at that Time that the Parliament would have questioned the Duke of *Buckingham*, they did then proceed from a steady Intention of a general Good, or from some particular Animosities against the Duke, or from some accidental Distempers, from which the greatest and best Assemblies are not always free, is still a great Question; especially when such Assemblies have continued long together: For then they will spy out, and look after Miscarriages and Grievances, rather than supply their lawful King and Sovereign. 'Tis certainly true, when Kings of *England* meet often with their Parliaments, and agree with them, they may command what they please: But if a King's Revenue be such, as to enable him to live without his Parliament, he will be more free; for the Meeting and long Sitting of Parliaments is dangerous; for usually, when publick Business is ended (nay, many times before they have ended it) they fall upon Grievances, and enter into Factions, to the great Prejudice of both King and Kingdom (as hath been often seen) and therefore *Posning's* Law was a good Provision against long Sitting of Parliaments. However, when Parliaments resolve to go upon Grievances, Kings should never interpose, to

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secure

secure their Favourites from answering Crimes which are alledged against them in Parliament, as was intended against the Duke, before the Parliament was prorogued; for it lays an Imputation upon the Prince, as being privy to their Actions, and fixes also a Scandal upon the Person accused, that he is generally thought guilty of all things laid to his Charge. And this Course, which was taken in the Beginning of King *Charles's* Government, of Proroguing and Dissolving Parliaments, rendred the Duke of *Buckingham's* Power more formidable, because it was thought unlimited; and tho' he was esteemed but as an Idol set up by King *James*, and was therefore more contemptible to the People; yet, at the same time, they thought the present King stood in Awe of him, and was afraid to pull down that Favourite, who was grown so formidable by his Power, and the Number of his Followers and Adherents; but such top-heavy Buildings, which have no solid Foundation in them, of Merit, are soon blown down; and let bad Men have never so much seeming Greatness and Power, they are seldom dangerous to wise Princes, who will never hinder them from being brought to Punishment, by a timely Sacrifice; and no Man ever yet saw a Tumult to defend them. And if this great Favourite, the Duke, had not been so soon murdered, he had certainly been made a Victim to the Publick, by the Parliament. And when this Parliament met in *January*, they were very troublesome, fell upon Grievances,

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tes, and made some Assaults against the Prerogative, and were preparing some Accusations against the Lord Treasurer *Weston*: And tho' the King sent the Black Rod for the Commons, to come to the House of Lords, they locked the Door of their House, and not only refused Entrance to the Black Rod, but forced the Speaker to his Chair, till they had adjourned the House to a Day, thinking thereby not to be dissolved before the Day of their Adjournment. However, the King went in Person to the House of Lords, without calling the Commons, and dissolved the Parliament, affirming, that some Vipers in the House of Commons, were the Cause of his dissolving them, and at the same time very much courted and commended the Lords; and, after this Dissolution, some of those Members who had carried themselves very insolently, were committed to several Prisons, and the King, to satisfy his People, published a Proclamation, shewing the Causes of dissolving those three Parliaments.

In the Year 1630, Prince *Charles* was born, at whose Birth great Rejoicing was thro' the whole Kingdom; and in 1633, the King went to *Scotland*, and was there Crowned with great Solemnity. At his Return, in 1634, Ship-Money was raised with great Care and Equality, by Letters written from the Privy-Council to every High-Sheriff; and tho' this Pill was gilded, it would not be swallowed, but great Discontents were exprest at an Imposition never before practised, and against Law: But yet this was

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done by the Advice and solemn Agreement of all the Judges, (except two, *Hatton* and *Crook*) who argued against it. However, they subscribed for the King's doing it; neither did the Judges do so much in this, as was done in the Parliament of 31 *H. VIII.* when it was agreed, that the Legislative Power should be in the King and his Council, in Intervals of Parliament; and that the King's Proclamation should be of equal Force with an Act of Parliament: And this was thought fit by the Parliament, as being a dangerous thing, that the King should be at Disadvantage, for Want of Power, in Case of sudden Exigencies. And therefore there was Reason, that the King should steer with a shorter Rudder, that his Care might meet with every Turn of Providence, which might otherwise suddenly overturn the good Government of the Nation: And it was then also declared in Parliament, that if the Motions at home should wait upon the Debates in Parliament, things must needs come short in Execution, and the Affairs of the Nation extremely suffer. And tho' this was but a temporary Law, during the then present Condition of Affairs; yet, in the 34 and 35 of the same King, another Law was made to confirm what was done before, with a Power granted to the King and Council, to change and alter, as they should think fit. And certainly the same Reason held as strong, during the troublesome and impetuous Reign of King *Charles*, tho' he thought not convenient to demand any such Power. *The Opinion of the*

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the Judges was subscribed in these Words following.

We are of Opinion, that when the Good and Safety of the Kingdom in general is concerned, and the whole Kingdom in Danger, your Majesty may by Writ, under the Great Seal of England, command all your Subjects of this Kingdom, at their Charge, to provide and furnish such Number of Ships, with Men, Victuals, and Ammunition, and for such Time as your Majesty shall think fit, for the Defence and Safeguard of the Kingdom, from such Peril and Danger; and that, by the Law, your Majesty may compel the doing hereof; and, in Case of Refusal, or Refractoriness, we are also of Opinion, that your Majesty is the sole Judge, both of the Danger, and when and how the same is to be prevented and avoided.

The King did nothing herein, but what he was advised to do by his Judges, who were always esteemed the King's learned Council in the Law; and if any thing was amiss in this Particular, the Advisers were to answer for it, which they did, and some of them were sufficiently punished for it: But whether they were punished deservedly, or not, is yet a Question. Soon after the King's Return from Scotland, Bishop Laud succeeded Archbishop Abbot in the See of Canterbury, who being very powerful with the King, advised the Setling the Church Government in Scotland, as it was in England, that there might be an Uniformity of Church Discipline in both Kingdoms; and the King

sent down his Orders accordingly, with a new Service Book of Common-Prayer, with Command to be read in all the Churches: But malicious and designing Men, who desire Innovations in State, do most commonly begin their first Attempt upon the Church, as was seen in *Scotland*, by their Commotions upon this Occasion, when they were, at that time, by God's Mercy to us, and the King's Care over us, in perfect Peace with all the Nations upon Earth. The King, by the Marquess of *Hamilton*, his Commissioner, did all he could to quiet those Troubles; yet nothing would do, for the *Scots* made a Covenant together, and declared never to renounce it, but prepared for War; and from thence sprung the true Fountain of all our ensuing Miseries in *England*. This kind of Presbyterian Government, which was then established in *Scotland*, had found good Reception in some of the *Gallican* and *Belgian* Churches, and which *Beza* used his utmost Endeavours to plant in *England*: But wary Queen *Elizabeth* stood fix'd, and could not be brought to any Unsettlement of the ancient Discipline of Episcopacy: But in *Scotland* this new Form prospered, by the Artifices of *Ruchanan* and *Knox*, and during King *James's* Minority, they threw down Bishops, and settled Presbytery, and used their King as they pleased.

About this Time, the short Parliament of 1640 drew near; the King being then at *York*, was preparing to return to *London*. It was then considered, whether the Earl of *Strafford* should

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should stay with the Army, or go with the King to *London*. The Earl shewed many substantial Reasons for his not going, and knowing how much the *Scots* were incensed against him, and how great an Interest they would have in the Parliament: That, by his Absence, he would not be so much in their Mind; and that if any thing should be objected against him, he might the better avoid, and retire from any Danger, and be better able to do the King Service elsewhere, when the King's Occasions should require it (as he much feared they would;) but no Arguments could prevail, but the King continued earnest for his going with him, and assured him in the Word of a King, if he should be questioned, he would so defend him, that a Hair of his Head should not be touched; and so the Earl resolved to submit to the King's Commands, tho' he foresaw his own Destruction in it.

In *April* 1640, the Parliament met, when *Glanville* was chosen Speaker. A Message was soon sent by the King to the House of Commons, for Supplies, shewing the intolerable Indignities and Injuries of the *Scots*, who had not only common Ties of Nature, Sovereignty, and Bounty upon that Nation, with his late royal Father, but had twice gratified the active Spirit among them so far, that he had preferred the Desires of that Party before his own Interest or Honour; and his royal Bounty to them had emboldened them to ask and act beyond all Bounds of Modesty and Gratitude, which made the King more scandalized at their coming into

England, contrary to his Will, and with the Forfeiture of so many Obligations of Duty to him. It is true, that when they first entered *England*, Success crowned their Work, being thought a wise and resolute Nation, who, after an unbloody War, for above one Year, returned laden with Spoils, and great Riches, and were most liberally rewarded, as well for going out, as coming into *England*: But God's Justice was in the End discovered through all their Pretensions of Religion, in which they wrapt up their wicked Designs, who built their Piety upon the Ruines of Loyalty, and made Bankrupt of their Allegiance, to set up a quicker Trade for Religion. Upon this Account, the King (as he had good Reason) was very angry with them, and declared, if the House of Commons would assist him suitable to the Exigency of his Affairs, he would not only quit his Claim to Ship-Money, but would give them full Satisfaction in all their just Demands; which Message was much approved by both Houses, and many Conferences were held, whether the Supply, or the Subjects Grievances should precede. The Lords voted for the first, but the Commons for the latter; however, the Difference was soon unhappily decided by a voluntary Mistake in old Sir *Henry Vane*, then Secretary of State, who was ordered by the King and Council, to demand six Subsidies, and he demanded twelve; which was so highly unreasonable, that many were much displeased, but all were inclined to have given six, which was no usual Gift.

Sir

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Sir *Henry Vane* escaped not without great Censure, for demanding Double to his Commission; but it was really believed, this Mistake was purposely done, to raise the House to Animosities, which took Effect; for the House would not consent to what he demanded, but insisted upon their Grievances, which made the King so desperate, that he forthwith dissolved the Parliament. The Counsel given to dissolve them was generally disliked, because the Differences between the King and this Parliament might have been cemented by the Lords, and the *Scots* Troubles, by this Parliament, appeased, which grew wider by this Breach; and the Odium of this was laid upon Archbishop *Laud*, who was thought to be more busy in temporal Matters, than he ought; and being too full of Fire (tho' a just, good Man) his too much Zeal for the Church made him persuade the King to the Sitting of the Convocation (which ought not to have been done) after Dissolution of the Parliament. The King then caused a Guard to be set about *Westminster*, while the Convocation sat, who settled the Discipline of the Church, and would not alter the Government by Bishops, and they granted a Benevolence to the King, of Four Shillings in the Pound, for six Years, towards his Expedition against the *Scots*, wherein the Archbishop was very active. The *Scots* were at this time come into a warmer Climate than their own, and Petitioned the King for Redress of their Grievances, in several Articles. All good
Men

Men inveighed sufficiently against them, whilst others approved of their Proceedings. There was at this time a strange Spirit of Division in the Opinions of Men, of these Affairs; too many not only favouring, but joining with the *Scotch* Covenanters, who presented their Demands, How their Army should be maintained, till the Treaty was ended, and Peace secured; and so they had a great Allowance: But the King's best Subjects said, the King should rather have put All to the Issue of a Battle, than to give such Terms to most rebellious Subjects. But the King saw plainly, that divers Officers of his own Army, and even the private Soldiers, had no Mind to fight against the *Scots*, which made the King conclude the Treaty with them. The Earl of *Montrose*, who had great Alliances in *Scotland*, came then into *England*, to serve the King, but by the Marquess of *Hamilton's* Cunning, (who betrayed the King in all the *Scotch* Affairs) *Montrose* was slighted and neglected, whereupon he went back to the Covenanters; but being soon weary of them, he wrote to the King, professing his great Loyalty and Service to his Majesty; which Letter was taken out of the King's Pocket at Night, by the Marquess of *Hamilton*, and sent to the Covenanters.

About this Time, a Resolution was taken by the King and Council, to call another Parliament, the great Necessity of the King's Affairs then obliging him to it. The Court Party laboured much to bring in their Friends, but those

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those that were most esteemed at Court, had least Respect and Interest in the Country; and it was not a little strange to see, what a Spirit of Opposition was in the Hearts of most Men, to the Court's Proceeding: So that very few of the King's Party were chosen Members of Parliament. And indeed the highest Danger in *England* comes from the Power of the People to elect their Representatives; for they will be such as are of their own Complexion, and which will stand by them in all their Designs against the Government, for clipping the Wings of Monarchy, and restraining the King's lawful Prerogative; which was the true Reason why the King broke so many Parliaments; but at last being wearied, and overborne, he was necessitated to give Way to their Meeting in 1641, which, by several Encroachments upon the Royal Prerogative, their long Sitting, and Success in their Rebellion, brought their lawful Sovereign at last to the Block, as will be seen in the Sequel of these *Memoirs*.

This Long Parliament was convened to meet *November 3. 1641*, a most ominous Day! for the Parliament met that Day, in 20 *H. VIII.* which began with the Fall of Cardinal *Wolsey*; and therefore Archbishop *Laud* was desired to get their Meeting adjourned for some Days: But the good Man took no Notice of those things. At their first Meeting, the King told them, he was resolved to put himself freely upon the Love and Affection of his Subjects, and left it intirely to them, where to begin,
promi-

44 MEMOIRS of the

promising them Redress of Grievances, and desired that all Suspicion of each other should be laid aside. The House of Commons, after establishing Committees, fell upon Grievances, and many sharp Speeches were made upon that Subject. The King passed the Bill for the Triennial Parliament, and thereby declared his great Confidence in them, and the extraordinary Favour he did his Subjects, by passing that Bill. The House of Commons fell presently upon the Earl of *Strafford*, whom they accused of High Treason, and desired he might be secured, which was done accordingly, and great Preparations made for his Trial in *Westminster-Hall*, before the Lords; and one of the sharpest Managers of the Evidence against his Lordship, says, *That No Man ever acted a Part on such a Theatre with more Wisdom, Eloquence, and Constancy, and with greater Reason, Judgment and Temper, and with a better Grace, than that great Lord and excellent Person did, so that he moved the Hearts of all his Auditors (some few excepted) to great Pity and Remorse. His Lordship told them, it was hard that Punishment should precede Promulgation of a Law; to be punished by a Law subsequent to the Fact, was never heard of till that time; that there should no Mark be set, by which the Offence might be known, no Admonishment given to avoid it, was a Case extreme hard. The King heard all the Tryal, and after went to the House of Lords, and sent for the Commons, and did passionately desire the Parliament*

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liament not to proceed severely against the Earl of *Strafford*, assuring them in the Word of a Christian, that he could not in Conscience condemn him, and added, that neither Fear, nor any other Respect, should make him go against his Conscience. However, the Bill of Attainder passed both Houses, and a Bill not to prorogue, adjourn, or dissolve the Parliament, without Consent of both Houses. Thus, when Men seek to limit and confine the King to their Reason, they must needs have a secret Aim to share with him, or usurp upon him in his Power and Dominion: For good Men in Parliament will propose nothing to their King, nor expect any thing from their King, but what he will be as ready to give them, as they are to receive from him.

The King was much perplexed at the sending to him these two Bills, and sent for some of his Bishops, and others of his intimate Counsellours, to have their Advice what Measures to take, who advised him to pass the Bills: And the Earl of *Strafford* being informed of the King's great Perplexity, wrote to the King, desiring him to pass the Bill against him, saying, his Consent would acquit the King before Almighty God. Whereupon the King passed the Bill, and sent Mr. Secretary *Carleton*, to acquaint the Earl with it, who not believing, without some Astonishment, that the King would have passed the Bill, he rose from his Chair, and lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, clapp'd his Hand upon his Breast, and said with some

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Passion,

Passion, *Put not your Trust in Princes, nor in the Sons of Men, for there is no Truth in them;* which he had some Reason to say, because the King had engaged him to come to *London*, contrary to his own Sentiment, and had faithfully assured him, in the Word of a King, that in Case he should be attack'd in Parliament, he would so defend him, that a Hair of his Head should not be touched. And now by this unexpected Message, he had Notice given him of his Death, to which he really believed the King would never have consented; which made him break out in that Expression, with some more than ordinary Movement, believing his Letter to the King would have made him more firm in his Resolution. Great Reflections were made upon the King's passing these two Bills, the one against his most faithful Servant, and the other against himself: The first took away the Life of that great Statesman, the other his own Life, both Bills being signed at the same Time, and with the same Pen. The King had great Remorse for what he had done, and the next Day sent a Letter to the Lords written with his own Hand, by the Prince of *Wales*, to intercede for the Earl's Life; but nothing would prevail, tho' it was confidently affirmed by some, that the Earl's Life was promised the King, to encourage him to pass the Bill: But now the Lords would not consent to his Majesty's Desire. And thus fell this noble Earl, who, for natural Parts and Abilities, for Improvement of Knowledge, by Experience in

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greatest

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greatest Affairs; for Wisdom, Fidelity, Obedience, and Gallantry, left no Equal behind him. A little after this, to satisfy the King in somewhat, the House of Commons granted an Act for Tonnage and Pondage, which the King took before as due by his Prerogative, but now as a Gift from his People.

The Parliament then adjourned till Winter, it being thought fit the King should go into *Scotland*, the People there beginning to shew their Discontents more publickly, where the King being in Person might better redress their Grievances, as they call'd them. The King then granted every thing they desired, without asking any Questions, till they declared they had no more to ask, the King having entirely fulfilled their Desires, and (as the Phrase then went) *He parted, a contented King, from a contented People*. For, from the Time of the King's coming among them, he had fully complied with all they desired, both for the publick Government, and their private Advancements. The Kingdom of *Scotland*, within it self, enjoyed perfect Peace and Tranquillity, and the King was confident, the Affections of the *Scots* could not be corrupted, believing they were sensible of their former Breach of Duty, and willing to repair it by any Service; and that their General, *Lesly*, had made great Acknowledgments and Professions of Duty to his Majesty, and would be always ready and willing to serve him. About the End of *November* this Year, the King returned well satisfied from *Scotland*, and was,
upon

upon his Arrival, most sumptuously entertained by the City of *London*.

The King then went to the Parliament, and made a Speech to both Houses, wherein he told them, he made as much Haste to them, as his Affairs in *Scotland* permitted; and that he had left that Nation in a most peaceable and contented Condition: And yet he was no sooner gone from them, but they subscribed their Covenant, raised an Army against their lawful King, made *Lesly* their General, to join with their dear Brethren in *England*, who were then hatching a Rebellion against their King, who then told them in Parliament, That tho' he did not find *England* so well settled as he expected, (being full of Jealousies, and Alarms of Designs and Plots) yet he doubted not of his Subjects good Affections, by his Reception at his Return: And added, That he was so far from repenting what he had done for them, that he was willing and ready to pass any thing more, that might justly be desired, for their Liberties, Properties, and Maintenance of their Religion; and desired them not to be discontented at their own Happiness, nor to be without Sense of their natural Allegiance: And that having gotten the Opinion of being good Patriots for their Country, they should not be inveigled into Steps of Disloyalty, nor to use such Measures as would disturb the Throne. The King also recommended to them the Business of *Ireland*, where, it seems a Rebellion broke out, during his Absence in *Scotland*; and the King offered

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to go thither in Person, to prosecute those Rebels, but the Parliament would not agree to it. Now, he that governs three Kingdoms, composed of three several Nations, whose Religion, Manners, and Language are different, and whose Passions and Interests are contrary to each other, must keep a constant severe Hand over them: For, to think of governing them, as King *Charles I.* did, by a gentle and obliging Temper, was as impossible, as to think of putting six wild Horses to a Coach, and to drive them without Whip or Reins. And whoever hath read the pious Meditations of King *Charles*, hath there found by his own Words, that he condescended against his own Judgment and Conscience, to settle Presbytery in *Scotland*; and it appeared soon after, how unhappy this King was, in his too kind and tender Condescensions to the *Scots*, which occasioned all those Troubles he had in the North of *England*. The Presbyterians called God to witness, that nothing was so dear to them, as the Honour and Safety of the King, and at the same time they conspired against both. They seemed wonderfully solicitous for his Life and Safety, when they were plotting how to entrap him: They told us, their dear Liberties and Properties hung upon the Thread of the King's Life, and yet, at that Instant, they were resolved to cut that Thread off. But the good Christians of old did not use this Method; they prayed for their Princes and Governours, when most barbarously and unjustly provoked to the contrary;

so that no Christian died as a Rebel or Traytor, in all the early Persecutions of Christianity, for several Centuries. The Presbyterians made it their Business, by their libellous Pamphlets, and other wicked Arts, not only to make the King's Government odious, his faithful Subjects suspected, but also to excite a Hatred to his Royal Person; and made use of the Name of *Popery*, to carry on all their wicked Designs, being the common Engine they have always play'd against the Government. For it hath been observed, that the Prerogative never so suffered, no great Statesman was ever disgraced, nor the Liberties of the People ever wounded, but a dreadful Outcry of *Popery* hath still preceded; and if any durst shew his Fidelity to Monarchy, by opposing their Antimonarchical Projects, he was presently blasted with the Name of a *Court*, or a *Church Papist*. And when they could not undermine the Government by Fraud, they would overthrow it by main Force, and always had those in great Estimation, who made the biggest Noise for Religion, and made no Scruple of involving three Kingdoms in Misery and Confusion. They strained at Conformity, but swallowed down Rebellion; they stumbled at the Rails before the Altar, but leap'd over Dethroning their King, whom they murdered first in his Reputation, by calling him Tyrant, (whose Fault was only his Clemency) and then they murdered him in his Person.

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I remember well what *Josephus* says in his *Antiquities*, *Lib. 17. Cap. 3.* That the *Pharisees* were a bold Sect, that would swear Allegiance to *Cæsar*, but were inveterate Enemies to Kings, and would not stick to make Attempts upon their Lives: And the Difference betwixt those *Pharisees* and ours is, that they were *Jewish* Fanaticks, and ours are Christian *Jews*, which appears by their Principles, who say, the King holds not his Power *Jure Divino*, but is the People's Trustee, and to them accountable: A Doctrine which leads to the Destruction of all Kings. What our Blessed Saviour told his Disciples, that *the Times were coming, when they that killed them should think they did God good Service*, was seen about this Time, when Churches were pulled down for God's Glory, when Religion was called *Popery*, and Monarchy *Tyranny*; when Atheists would reform Religion, Bankrupts secure Property, and Army Officers guard Liberty: When the Property of Nobility and Gentry was held to be destructive of Liberty, and it was a dangerous thing for Men to have any Sense of their Duty and Allegiance. But alas! those that foment such Animosities and Divisions, do more Mischief to their Country, than foreign Enemies. No Fears of Arbitrary Government can justify, no Zeal for Religion can sanctify, such Proceedings. To live and die with their King, is the highest Profession a Subject can make, and he serves his Country best, who well serves his King. And truly I am perswaded, that many Men entred into

our *English* Rebellion, who little thought of any such thing, at their first setting out, but were easily drawn in, by entering into the Society of evil Men, and were not guilty of such black Intentions, and were led away with the common Error and false Presumptions, that nothing was at the Bottom, but to settle the true Interest of the Nation, and so fight for the King and Parliament together, which they thought was their Duty; but being once engaged, they went rashly farther than they at first intended: But a true Christian Zeal will not suffer us to transgress the strict Bounds of our Duty, both to God and the King, whatever flattering Prospect of Advantage it may give. *Omne in præcipiti vitium stetit*: When Men once espouse an ill Party, like those running down a Hill, they cannot stop when they will; and I really believe, that some Profelytes were made, who at first abhorred the Thoughts of Treason and Rebellion, but were merely seduced by the Insinuation and Address of some busy Factors for Sedition and Rebellion: And therefore wise Men should take Care of listning to any Suspicion of their Prince, and not to hear with Pleasure any scandalous Reflections of him; for he that can with Content hear his King vilified, will soon think him not fit to be a King. And tho' we do not think at first to be turning Rebels, yet whatsoever is at first but a Tending towards it, proves so at last, there being more Danger, that the Beginnings of Vice should corrupt us, than any Hope that a sound Disposition

tion should correct the Influence of such a Vice.

At this Time a great Diffidence began betwixt the Court and the Country Party in Parliament, and the Disadvantage lay altogether on the King's Side, who had then such Counsellours as did not do their Duty; and so the Head and Members of our Monarchy entred into Distrust of each other, which filled the Kingdom with Confusions, Miseries, and infinite Desolations. The King had then no Counsellours about him, or at least did not trust them that had the least Consideration for his Honour, or Friendship for them that sat at the Helm of Affairs; and the King had no Counsellours but those that made false Steps: There was no honest Man that durst speak his Conscience to the King, for fear of his Ruine, and those that the King thought most true to him, betrayed him every Hour; and his very Whispers in his Bed-chamber were presently conveyed to them against whom those Whispers were: So that the King had very few to whom he could breathe his Complaints, that were not suborned against him, or averse to his Opinions: And that King can never be a great Monarch, who hath not just and wise Counsellours, by whom he must inform his Reason, and guide his Actions, and use the Service and Industry of the best and wisest Men.

It was about this Time that the Parliament avowed publickly that the Power was entirely in them, and that the King being sever'd from

them, had no Royal Power in him; and the House of Commons did then petition the King touching their Privileges, declaring the King ought to take no Notice of any Debate in either House of Parliament, but by Information from them, nor be displeased with any Debate, before it was presented to him; the Members of Parliament being the sole Judges of their own Errors, in Matters depending before them. Many Members thought the Petition was too rough, but the general Fate of things then drove that Way, to increase the Jealousy betwixt the King and his People; and the Parliament declared, they would not proceed in any Affairs, till they had a satisfactory Answer to their Petition. The King, before any Answer given, withdraws to *Hampton Court*, which increases the Discontents in Parliament, who sent a Committee to him at *Hampton Court*, to tell the King plainly, that the whole Frame of Government was out of Order, and a Remonstrance was prepared by the Parliament, very roughly penn'd, both for Matter and Expressions in it, wherein were mentioned all the Mistakes, Misfortunes, Illegalities, and Defaults of Government, with an Enumeration of all Grievances, and not one single Error in Government omitted, nor any passionate Exercise of Power, from the Death of King *James*, till that time; and that they had no Hopes of settling the Distractions of the Kingdom, by reason of the evil Counsellours, and malignant Party that were about the King. And when this

Remon-

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Remonstrance was read in the House, some moderate Members did then protest against it, and were sent to the *Tower* for it, but they were soon after released. Soon after this, the King came again to *Whitehall*, and being informed, that some Members of Parliament had private Meetings and Correspondence with the *Scots*, and countenanced the late Tumults, which came from the City to *Whitehall*, and which caused the King's Removal to *Hampton Court*: The King, upon this Information, gave a Warrant to seal up their Trunks, Studies, and Papers; upon which the Commons having Notice, passed several Votes against it, and justified their Members. Whereupon the King exhibited Articles against the five Members (which were named) for endeavouring to subvert the fundamental Laws and Government, and to deprive the King of his Regal Power. The King taking Notice, that the House of Commons would defend their Members, went suddenly the next Morning, with his Guard of Pensioners, entered the House of Commons, stepped into the Speaker's Chair, and look'd round the House for the Members, who having had Notice of the King's Coming, were gone; the King said, he was sorry for the Occasion of his Coming thither, having sent the Day before a Sergeant at Arms to apprehend some that were accused of High Treason, whereunto he expected Obedience (and not a Message, as they had sent him) and he said, no King was ever more careful of their Privileges; but, that

in Cases of High-Treason, no Person had a Privilege; and therefore commanded the Speaker to send them to him; who replied, that he had neither Eyes to see, nor Tongue to speak in that Place, but as the House should direct him: And so the King returned to *Whitehall*. This Action of the King's was look'd upon as a great Breach of their Privileges, and was judged extreamly prejudicial to the King, and much to his Enemies Advantage, and was thought very strange by those who had any Knowledge in publick Affairs, that the King was advised to so an intemperate an Action, and many Excuses were made for it, and said it was done by Womens Counsel, that the King should not suffer himself to be so baffled, which provoked him to it. Many of the King's Friends resented his going to the House, as a Motion rising rather from Passion than Reason, being not guided with such Discretion as the Touchiness of those Times required. Upon this the House of Commons frame a Declaration, That the King's Coming to the House in a warlike Manner, to the Terror of the Parliament, was a high Breach of their Privileges, and inconsistent with their Liberty, and that they could not sit safely without a Guard, for which they had been Suitors to the King, but could not obtain it. Upon this great Tumults were in the City, and at *Westminster*; and as the King went through the City, great Tumults flocked about his Coach, beseeching him to agree with his Parliament. The King being in Danger of these Tumults, was counselled

felled to remove again to *Hampton Court*, which he did, and took with him the Queen, Prince of *Wales*, and the Duke of *York*; which was much wondred at by prudent Men, that the King should leave the Place of his Residence, which brought great Disadvantage upon himself and his Affairs. But the Fear of those with him, and his own Fears for them, occasioned by the Tumults, with the Hopes, that, by his Absence, the Heat of the Parliament might in some Measure abate, were alledged, to excuse his Majesty's Retiring. But, on the other Side, no Reason can be given for Rebellion, but Pretences; for where Monarchy is settled, as in *England*, the Respect due to it could not be violated, without being guilty of a kind of Sacrilege; it being not only a Resemblance of that Power which God hath given the King, but a Participation of that Power which none can resist, without the Breach of God's Command. But People, at this time, were willing to be led blindfold by their own Representatives, rather than be guided by their Prince; and a few subtle Heads in a House of Commons are dangerous, when they oppose the Royal Authority, and are backed by the Multitude. Some Men softly instill the Venom of their Principles, and bring about their Ends, by insinuating themselves into publick Affairs, and their Complaints sometimes seem plausible, that they may gain Profelytes to their Faction, who may not mean so ill as their Leaders do. For, with what plausible Pretences were many Thousands

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first engaged in the War against King *Charles* ! What more plausible, than to engage in a War for the Defence of King and Parliament ! It is the Constitution of our Government, and we were happy, if we had well understood it, where our Laws are propounded by our selves in Parliament, and ratified by our Kings, which is our proper Freedom, as *Englishmen*, and from the due Execution of those Laws arises our Safety : But cunning and ambitious Men in the House of Commons, who framed the Platform of all our Miseries, fixed the odious Name of *Malignants* upon all those that adhered to the King, and the known Laws, and who would not run to the same Excess of Madness and Rebellion with them. And I well remember the time, when Parliament Soldiers plundered the Houses, and took away the Houses of honest Countrymen, who liv'd peaceably at Home, only because they were call'd *Malignants*, and that Name did warrant the Plunder. The Effects of these Complaints brought that Civil War upon us in 1641 ; and the Decoy to engage Men then was, to fight for King and Parliament, but the War ended in the Ruine of both, when Subjects bathed their Swords in the Blood of their King ; a Murder committed by the Mockery of Justice, never to be forgotten, and yet never to be mentioned, without Horror and Detestation ! 'Tis true, that Offences are given and taken in all Governments ; Kings sit uneasy on their Thrones, where their People are tumultuous, and Religion is disgraced ;

ted; and God hath exercised our *English* Nation with a various Face of Afflictions in the last Age: Our Fears and Jealousies did even anticipate our Miseries, and we oftentimes brought real Miseries upon our selves, by hastning to prevent the fancied ones. But when cunning Men design against the Government they live under, 'tis plain they would be Governours themselves, and they murmur at Mercies, as *Israel* did at *Manna*, and their Hearts open and shut according to their own Rules, when they strain at Gnats, and swallow Camels, like the *Neopolitan* Shepherd, who going to his Confessor at *Easter*, nothing so much troubled his Conscience, as that he had tasted a little Cream the *Lent* before; but he had often robbed and murdered Passengers in the Mountains, which troubled not his Conscience, because his Father and Grandfather had followed that Trade before.

The Truth is, the Power of King *Charles* (after his strange Condescension, to let the Parliament sit as long as they pleased) was little more than imaginary. The Crown of *England* gives no proper Strength to them that wear it, if personal Force be not proportioned to their Station; which, if it reached as far as *Prerogative*, it would be a mighty Advantage, for then a Monarch might be sure; but as this unhappy King's Case stood, his Empire consisted chiefly in his Submission to other Mens Wills, which was, in a Manner, but reigning by Courtesy: And therefore the Affections of the

the People is generally the strongest, but not the best Title, as we have often seen and felt in *England*, in the last and this Age. Wherefore, all Degrees of Inferiority should be tenderly used; for, if they be trampled upon, they will certainly grow sower and stubborn, believing they have a Right to be always well used: And the least Grievances suggest mutinous Thoughts in them, and they presently run up their Pedigree to *Adam*, saying, *In the Beginning it was not so*. And thus the House of Commons served King *Charles*, being full of dutiful Affections and Expressions, and abounded with large Promises of what Demonstrations of Duty they would shortly make him, in acknowledging his Royal Favour and Protection to be a great Blessing to them, and Preservation of their Liberties and Privileges; when any of which were infringed, they were found humbly to appeal to his Justice for Redress, the Rights and Privileges of Parliament not being only their Birth-right and Inheritance, but of the whole Kingdom; one of which Privileges undoubtedly was, that the whole Right of the Revenue, upon the Book of Rates, was the People's, and proceeded only from his Subjects Gifts; and then they inflicted severe Penalties upon those that should presume, for the future, to collect them, or to raise any Money, but as the Parliament should grant and appoint: By which Means the King was exposed to all the Dangers that might happen, either at Home or Abroad, and also deprived of the Possibility of suppor-

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supporting the Government it self, and was thereby reduced to a more helpless Condition, than the meanest of his Subjects, by their unworthy Votes, and unwarrantable Proceedings. Thus the House of Commons served the King, and did then farther declare, that tho' the Power of the Militia was wholly in the King, yet the Power of the Money was solely in them; and that without the Power of the Money, to pay the Soldiers, the Power of the Militia could be of little Force: So that unless the King and the House of Commons agreed, the Sword must be left in the Scabbard. They then also declared, That the King's Coming to the House, and the Speech he made there, was a great Breach; and therefore desired he would name the Persons that advised and induced him to that Action, that they might be punished, this being the only Way to procure a firm Confidence and Amity betwixt the King and his People.

In Answer to this, the King conjured them by all the Obligations of Love, Duty, and Obedience, to remove all their Doubts and Fears, and that doing so, he did not doubt but God would render him a Great and Glorious Prince, and them a free and happy People. But to all these Offers he had most unsuitable Returns; so that then the King perceived plainly, that the House of Commons were by Degrees stealing so much Power into their own Hands, that they did not care what remained in his: For they had got the Art of imposing
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upon the People's Understandings, against their own Reason, and perswaded them they were in Danger of Invasion, when the King was not only in Peace with all Christendom, but even those Princes that were in War desired his Assistance: And his Majesty was so moved with those odious Imputations (which had most pernicious Effects upon the Minds of his People) that he was forced to comply with many things contrary to his Judgment, to obviate greater Inconveniencies, which were likely to rise against him, by those false and scandalous Suggestions: And therefore he often answered their seditious and undutiful Expressions, with too much Gentleness and Condescension, thinking that Way to undeceive them, and thereby to restore them to their Understandings, before they could be awakened to their Duty due to their Sovereign, the King believing he was to stoop to all Arts and Means for that Purpose. But herein he was ill advised, and took false Measures; for tho' the Proceedings of the House of Commons, and the Tumults raised by them, were the highest Affront to his Majesty, yet the House of Peers was then in a tractable Temper, and with a little Patience might have been brought to blast all the Extravagancies of the House of Commons. But other Resolutions were then taken, which proved fatal to the King and Kingdom. It is true, the Votes, and Affronts of the House of Commons were great, and the Tumults also, but the House of Lords was then well disposed, and if managed by the
King

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King with a little Patience, the Higher House had blasted all the Extravagancies of the Lower House, which, at that Time, were the Attempts of Persons in Despair, and the Strugglings of Men at the last Gasp: And if the King would have been only a Spectator of the Division between the two Houses, and so have encouraged the Lords, who were firm to the King, the Commons would have been brought within their due Limits; but the King thought, by his Gentleness and easy Carriage, to recover his Subjects to their Sobriety, before they would be apprehensive of their Duty, and by that Way undid all. The Truth is, the King's Passing the Bill against the Bishops, was a great Weakening of his Party, not only by losing so many Voices in the Lords House, but it much influenced those, (whose Minds were then in Suspense) to see Foundations shaken. Besides, they that knew well the King's Disposition, did believe nothing could have prevailed with him to pass so Antimonarchical an Act, and therefore could never after be sure the King would deny any thing that was importunately asked: And so either some withdrew themselves from those Consultations, that they might decline the Danger of Envy, by contradicting them, or else suffered themselves patiently to be carried on by the Stream, and to agree to any thing that was lustily attempted. But truly, I think nothing ought to discourage publick Spirits from contributing all they can to the Firmness of such Counsels, as they esteem most just and safe

for the publick Good, and not to withdraw themselves upon any Pretence. Certainly the King was here overperswaded to agree with the Parliament in this Act against Bishops, that so for the future he might be able to deny them nothing; and this Condescension of his Majesty was very surprizing to the whole Kingdom, and much blamed by all, but only those who had a Hand in perswading the King to it.

It was then indeed a sad Prospect, to see the melancholy Condition the King was in, sunk, in a few Days, from the Heighth of all Greatness, which made his Enemies before to fear him, to such a Degree of Lowness, that his own Servants durst hardly come near him. He then perceived (when it was too late) that his Granting more than ever Prince had done, had encouraged the People to ask more than ever Subjects had demanded; and yet the King declared, if he knew the particular Grounds of his Subjects Fears, he would most gladly apply suitable Remedies, and desired they would not, out of Apprehension of possible Dangers, throw his Majesty and themselves into real and present Inconveniencies; and that they would pursue such Methods as might restore Felicity both to King and People. The King farther assured the House of Commons, That he would satisfy all their just Demands, by retracting any thing he had done, which seemed but to intrench upon their Privileges, and hoped they would have the same Regard to his Honour and Reputation, with that of his Subjects; But whatsoever the
King

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King said or promised, signified little with the Parliament: For then both Houses declared, they were the supreme Judicature of the Kingdom; and when they had declared what the Law of the Land was, to have it disputed or contradicted, (tho' by the King's Command) was a Breach of Privilege, and not to be obeyed; which was to declare, in plain Terms, that a Vote of the two Houses was obligatory to all without; (tho' against his Majesty's Consent) which Resolve did absolutely annul the Laws of the Land, and Liberty of the Subject, and let all sober Men see, that the fatal Period of both was near an End, and that a Foundation was then laid for Anarchy, which soon followed.

But I must not forget to say, that a little before the War was declared, the Queen went with the Princess *Mary* her Daughter, to the Prince of *Orange* her Husband, and was accompanied by the King to *Dover*, from whence the King returned to *Greenwich*, and sent for the Prince of *Wales* and the Duke of *York*, to go with him towards *York*, where he was well received. The Parliament sent after him the nineteen Propositions, which were treated on, and refused by the King. But I will not omit one Passage at *Greenwich*, before the King left it, which was somewhat strange and ominous; which was thus. The King commanded his Statue to be carried from *Greenwich* Garden into the Magazine: In the Carriage of it, the Face being upwards, a Swallow, or some other

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Bird,

Bird, flying over it, dinged in the Face of the King's Statue, which was wiped off immediately by those that carried it; but notwithstanding all Endeavours, it could not be gotten off, but turned into Blood. This Statue was made at Rome, by the famous Statuary Signor *Bernino*; and when the King's Picture was brought to him, by which he was to make the Statue, with positive Directions to conceal whose Picture it was, Signor *Bernino*, after having look'd sometime very stedfastly upon it, said, he had never seen any Picture, whose Face shewed so much Greatness, and withal such Marks of Sadness and Misfortune, which proved too true in all its Circumstances; for never any King kept greater State or Order in his Court, and was more majestick in keeping up his Dignity, till at last he was made a sad Spectacle both to Men and Angels, before his own Palace.

But, leaving this Digression, it is Time to tell you, that both Houses declared, the Kingly Prerogative, which was before lodged in the Crown, tho' with some Limitations, was now no more there, but in the two Houses of Parliament: Whereas, by the Constitution of the *English* Government, the King is singly Sovereign, and no Power on Earth co-ordinate with him: And as Almighty God is the absolute Sovereign of all Princes, so imperial Princes (as the Kings of *England* are esteemed) are absolute, next, and immediately under God, to whom alone they are accountable. And therefore those that set the Laws above the Maker
of

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of them, or subordinate Magistrates above the Fountain of the first Power, usurp upon the original Founder, and take upon them to remove the unchangeable Foundations of Power it self: For there is no longer any Government, where the Inferior incroaches upon the Superior, and confounds the Relations of Kings and Subjects, in that Anarchical Whimsey of imagining that Kings are to govern by Contract, and Subjects to obey accordingly: Whereas no Man can shew, that there ever was an Original Contract between former Kings and the People of *England*, besides that which was implied in the Constitution; and the very Supposition of one is repugnant to all our Laws, and expressly opposite to the Words and Sense of many of our Statutes; there being nothing more irreconcilable and contradictory, than a Contract by which our Kings are made judicially accountable to their People, or censurable for Miscarriages in their Government, when several Acts of Parliament do not only declare our Kings to be unaccountable, but make it High Treason to take up Arms against them, upon any Pretence whatsoever. And, to imagine it either lawful or practicable, to question and depose Kings, without a Liberty of taking up Arms against them, is a Contradiction that none will pretend to reconcile, who are not Lunatick, or deeply Hypochondriacal: And as for that Contract in our first Constitution, it only declares the Ends for which our Princes were to Rule, *viz.* The Safety, Peace, and

Prosperity of their People, to teach and instruct them, that they were to govern by Laws; but it no way promises, that they should be accountable to their People, or arraigned by their Subjects, leaving them for that only responsible to God, and in no manner punishable, but by the Stings of their own Consciences: *For who can say to the King, what doest thou?*

About this Time the War was openly declared against the King, after his being refused Entrance into *Hull*; whereupon he went to *York*. The Earl of *Essex* was named General for the Parliament: The Earl of *Bedford* General of the Horse: The Lord *Kimbolton*, *Stapleton*, *Balfour*, and *Ramsay*, General Officers for the Parliament. Whereupon the King named the Earl of *Lindsey* Lord Chamberlain of *England*, to be his Lieutenant General, Prince *Rupert*, Cousin to the King, General of the Horse, Sir *Jacob Astley* Major General of the Foot, and Lord *Wilmot* Commissary General of the Horse.

Thus the War was began, and the King, by a very unhappy Accident, was obliged to declare before he was in any Condition for Action. The Occasion, This: Collonel *Goring*, Governor of *Portsmouth*, declared for the King, before the King was ready to march to his Succour. Upon some private Suspicion the Parliament had of *Goring*, he was sent for, and examined, and upon his Confession of some things relating to the Army, the Lords *Wilmot*, *Ashburnham* and *Pollard*, all three Members, were

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were expelled the House of Commons, and sent to several Prisons; but *Peircy* and *Jermyn*, who were also Members accused, escaped. This Confession of *Goring* gave him a great Reputation with the Parliament, who sent him back to his Government with Money to pay the Soldiers, and to take Care of his Government. By his great Dexterity, he perswaded the King, that he was not only sorry for the Fault he had committed, but that he would soon redeem it by some signal Service to the King; and he managed himself with such Address, that he received Three Thousand Pounds from the Queen, to fortify the Garrison, when it should be necessary for him to declare for the King; and at the same time he received a great Supply from the Parliament, for Payment of the Garrison, that it might be kept for their Service. Some time after, upon some new Information, he was sent for again, and appeared in the House, and justified himself with so much Innocence and Unaffectedness, that the House of Commons, after an Apology for the Trouble they had given him, commanded him to return to his Government, and to take great Care for the Safety of the Place, which was of much Importance to them, and consented to all he proposed in behalf of the Garrison. In the mean time, he assured his Majesty, (by those that were employed between them) that in a short time he should be in a Condition to declare for the King, when the King should require it; but by the Sequel, we shall find he was obliged to do it, much

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sooner than he was prepared for it, tho' no
 sooner than he had Reason to expect it. It
 seems, when the Lord *Kimbolton* received his
 Commission to be Lieutenant General of the
 Horse for the Parliament, *Goring* was appointed
 to be his Major-General: But *Goring* wrote to
 his Lordship, desiring he might be excused for
 his Attendance upon the Army, till it was rea-
 dy to march, that he might be present in his
 Garrison, till some Fortifications were perfected,
 that were necessary for that important Place:
 Upon which the Lord *Kimbolton* prevailed with
 the Earl of *Essex*, that *Goring* should not be
 sent for, till they were ready to enter upon
 Action; and, at last, upon several Instances
 from the Lord *Kimbolton* to General *Goring*, to
 come away, after several Excuses, he told him,
 he was advised by Counsel, that it was dange-
 rous to leave the Place without the King's Leave,
 having received the Command of that Place
 from him. Hereby the King received a consi-
 derable Reputation, that so important a Place
 as *Portsmouth*, with so considerable an Officer
 as Collonel *Goring*, had declared for him: But
 his declaring, before the King was ready, or
 the Garrison in Condition to sustain a Siege,
 was the Cause of the King's Resolution of setting
 up his Standard; and the Loss of *Portsmouth*,
 which soon happened, gave a great Disorder to
 the King's Affairs: For the Parliament sent
 forthwith to besiege it, and *Goring* was obliged
 to surrender it, upon very good Articles for
 himself, going into *France* with the Money he
 had

had received on both Sides, without making good his Promise to either. But this his Carriage was much resented by all the King's Friends, and more particularly by those who were expelled the House. If his Conscience and Integrity had equalled his Wit and Courage, he had been one of the most eminent Men of the Age he lived in: But he could not resist Temptations, and was a Man without Scruple, and loved no Man so well, but he would cozen him, and afterwards laugh at him, as he did at the Lord *Kimbolton*; and of all his Qualifications (which were many) Dissimulation was his Master-piece, in which he so much excelled, with his great Dexterity, seeming Modesty and Unaffectedness, that in this Concern, of *Portsmouth*, he cozened the House of Commons twice, where were many Persons not easily to be deceived; neither were they ashamed to be cozened twice by him, who was so perfect a Master in that Art of Deceiving.

Upon this Incident, the King published a Declaration, wherein all the insolent and rebellious Actions of both Houses were recited, forbidding all his Subjects from paying any Obedience to them, and requiring all that could bear Arms, to be present to serve him at *Nottingham*, the 24th of *August* following, on which Day he intended to set up his Royal Standard, where all his good Subjects were obliged to attend. Many thought his Majesty had better have set it up at *Tork*: But the Inclination the King had to be near *London*, and his

Hopes of great Effects from *Portsmouth*, (which proved vain) made him prefer *Nottingham*; and the Earl of *Cumberland* was left Commander in Chief of *Yorkshire*, assisted with Sir *Thomas Glemham*. Most Persons in *Yorkshire* were very faithful to the King, except the Lord *Fairfax* and his Son, who were to be made Prisoners; the Seizing of them had probably prevented the Mischief which soon after broke out in those Parts; but the King (being always ill advised) could not admit they should be made Prisoners. The King came to *Nottingham* some Days before his Standard was set up, and hearing some Regiments, by Order from the Earl of *Essex*, were marching to *Coventry*, the King hastened thither with some Troops of Horse well armed, and got thither the Day before the Parliament's Forces. However, the Gates were shut against him, and some of his Servants kill'd from the Walls. The King had no Remedy for this Affront, but lodged that Night at *Stonely Abbey*, at Sir *Thomas Lee's*. The next Day the King's Body of Horse, being near the Enemy at *Southam*, who were not above Twelve Hundred Foot, with one Troop of Horse, in a free Campagne, yet they retired without being charged. Commissary *Wilmot* then commanded the King's Horse, and several Reflections were made upon his not charging them. About this time I was with the Earl of *Northampton* at *Warwick*, having left *Coventry* some Months before, where I resided with my Father, being then very young, and went with two Horses,
and

and one of his Men, to the Earl of *Northampton*, who was Lord Lieutenant of *Warwickshire*, with whom I was when he first put the Commission of Array in Execution at *Coleshill*, eight Miles from *Coventry* towards *Birmingham*. From thence we went to *Warwick*, in Hopes to have surprized that Castle; but Sir *Edward Peito* was gotten into it before, and had Orders to keep it for the Lord *Brook*, whose Castle it was, and his Lordship was then employed by the Parliament, to settle the Militia in *Warwickshire*. The Castle was strong, and well scituated, the River *Avon* running by it. Our Endeavours for taking it, were to little Purpose, for we had only two small Pieces of Cannon, which were brought from *Compton House*, belonging to the Earl of *Northampton*, and those were drawn up to the Top of the Church Steeple, and were discharged at the Castle, to which they could do no Hurt, but only frightened them within the Castle, who shot into the Street, and killed several of our Men. The King (as I said before) being repulsed from *Coventry*, hastened back towards *Nottingham*, and the Earl of *Essex* drawing near us with his Army, being then at *Southam*, my Lord of *Northampton*, with his Troop of Gentlemen, which were numerous, marched towards *Worcester*, where we met Prince *Rupert* with some Troops of Horse, with whom we joined, and drew up in the Fields, not far from *Potwyck* Bridge, upon the *Severn*, where we stood very quietly for some time, being informed that the Earl of *Essex* was marching after us. We had
not

not been long in this Posture, before some Troops of Horse, commanded by Collonel *Nathaniel Fiennes*, who lay on the other Side *Powych* Bridge, expecting to meet the Vanguard of *Essex's* Army, passed the Bridge, and having passed the Defiles, he drew up his Troops not far from ours, which the Prince gave him Time to do; but then the Prince charged and routed them, and sent them back over the Bridge, in great Confusion and Disorder. In this Action we took several Prisoners, amongst whom was one Collonel *Sandys*, who was mortally wounded, and died some Hours after. Major *Douglas*, and several others, were killed upon the Place. This was the first Action I was ever in, and being upon an unruly Horse, he ran away with me amongst the Enemy, while we pursued them to the Bridge, in which Hurly I lost my Hat; but my Horse's Courage being somewhat abated, I stopp'd him before we came to the Bridge, and so returned with our own Troops. We retired that Evening into the City of *Worcester*, where being refreshed, we marched that Night towards *Ludlow*, where we stayed some time; and from thence we went to *Shrewsbury*, where we stay'd till the King came thither with his Army, which much increased in those Quarters, by several Regiments newly raised in those Parts for the King. The next Day after our leaving *Worcester*, the Earl of *Essex* came thither with his Army, and made that City his Head Quarters for some time. The King stay'd at *Shrewsbury* till his Army was well recruited,

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and then Resolutions were taken to march towards *London*, in Hopes to get thither before the Earl of *Essex*, who was then, with the Parliament Army, about *Worcester* and *Warwick*.

While the King stay'd about *Shrewsbury*, his Army was modelled into several Regiments of Horse, Foot, and Dragoons, which, in all, made a considerable Body: The Horse were put into several Brigades, the Foot into Tertia's (as they were then called) and we had Three or Four Regiments of Dragoons: Our chief Want was Arms; for most of the Regiments, which were raised in *Wales*, were very ill armed. However, they were brave and resolute to serve their King, with such Arms as they had, or could get in their March, and our Army increased daily, by many coming to us from all Parts, as we marched. From *Shrewsbury* we marched thro' Part of *Staffordshire* and *Warwickshire*: I was then with the Earl of *Northampton*, in his own Troop, which consisted of One Hundred Gentlemen of Quality. The Lord *Compton*, eldest Son to the Earl, was the Right-hand Man; Sir *Charles Compton*, his second Son, was Cornet; and Mr. *Arden*, a Gentleman of one of the most ancient Families in *Warwickshire*, was Lieutenant to the Earl. We were then put into the Prince of *Wales's* Regiment of Horse, which consisted of six gallant Troops, besides the Servants: The Prince of *Wales's* own Troop commanded by Sir *Thomas Byron*, who was Collonel of the Regiment, with Sir *Thomas Daniel* Lieutenant, and Mr. *Mettbam* of

of *Yorkshire*, Cornet: The Duke of *York's* Troop; commanded by the Lord *Aubigny*, Brother to the Duke of *Richmond*: The Earl of *Newcastle's* Troop, commanded by his Brother Collonel *Cavendish*: The Earl of *Lindsey's* Troop, commanded by his Son the Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*: The Earls of *Northampton* and *Westmoreland* commanded each their own Troop; and all the Servants of the whole Regiment were put into one Troop, commanded by Captain *Davison*, an old experienced Low-Country Soldier, who was recommended for that Employ, by the old Earl of *Northampton*.

We marched thro' a great Part of *Warwickshire*, and came under *Wormington Hills*, on *Saturday* in the Evening, the Twenty Second Day of *October*, 1642. The King lodged that Night, at Sir *William Chancie's*, at *Ratott Bridge*, and Prince *Rupert* at the Lord *Spencer's*, at *Wormleighton*. The Prince of *Wales's* Regiment, in which we were, was quartered in two or three Villages under *Wormington Hills*, When it was dark, we saw several Fires not far from us, and sending out a Party to see, we were soon informed, that the Earl of *Essex* was there with his whole Army, and quartered at *Keinton*, a Market-Town. Whereupon our whole Regiment drew into the Fields, and had Provisions brought us from the Villages, and we forthwith gave Notice to the King and Prince *Rupert*, and soon after we received Orders to be upon our Guard all Night, and to be the

next

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next Morning by Eight, at the Rendezvous upon *Wormington Hills*. The King, with the Prince of *Wales*, and Duke of *York*, came soon after, and Prince *Rupert*, who called a general Council of War, where it was debated, whether to march towards *London*, or to march back, and fight the Enemy, whom we saw from the Hill, embattelling their Army in the Bottom near *Keinton*. To march from them was thought dishonourable, as if we feared them, and they would be sure to follow, and give us continual Trouble in our March, when we should not, perhaps, find so good Occasion to fight them; and so it was resolved, that we should go down the Hill and attack them. Whereupon great Preparations were made, and Precautions taken, for descending the Hill, which was very steep and long, and had been impracticable, if the Enemy had drawn nearer to the Bottom of it; but we saw by the Ranging their Army, that they intended to stay there for us, having a good Market Town by them, and not far from *Warwick*. In the first Place, it was resolved, that Collonel *Washington*, with his Regiment of Dragoons, should descend the Hill, and possess some Inclosures and Briars on the right Hand of our Army, and a forlorn Hope of Six Hundred Horse were ordered likewise to descend before the Army, and the Carriage Horses of the Cannon were put behind the Carriages, excepting a Horse or two before, and the Foot were ordered to descend as well as they could. The King was that Day in a black Velvet Coat lin'd with

with Ermin, and a Steel Cap covered with Velvet. He rode to every Brigade of Horse, and to all the Tertia's of Foot, to encourage them to their Duty, being accompanied by the great Officers of the Army: His Majesty spoke to them with great Courage and Chearfulness, which caused Huzza's thro' the whole Army. I take the Liberty here to remember one Passage which was remarkable. It seems, that very Morning, before the Army descended the Hill, the Duke of *Lenox* (being returned from his Travels) waited then upon the King, by whom his Grace was very well received and caressed. He brought with him one Mr. *Scroop*, who had accompanied him. After this Gentleman had kissed the King's Hand, as also that of the Prince of *Wales* and Duke of *York*, the Duke of *Lenox* told the King, that the Gentleman's Father was Sir *Gervase Scroop*, who had a good Estate, had raised a Foot Regiment in *Lincolnshire*, to serve his Majesty, and was then in the Army, but very angry with his Son, and would not see him, or be reconciled to him, because he went with the Duke of *Lenox*, without his Father's Consent, and had spent much more Money than he allowed him. The Duke of *Lenox* therefore prayed the King to make them Friends. Whereupon the King sent for the Father, and told him, it was his Pleasure he should be reconciled to his Son, who being then present, demanded upon his Knees his Father's Blessing; whereupon the Father gave it him, and said thus to his Son: *I am now*

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now going down the Hill to serve the King, and if I be killed, I have left you, my Son, enough to spend: And the Son presently answered; *And if I be killed, I shall leave you enough to pay for me.* And so the Father and Son went down the Hill together; and it so happened, that the Son saved his Father's Life, who having received many Wounds, was stript, and left for dead, and was brought off the next Morning by his Son, in one of the King's Coaches, who lived some Years after, always very kind to his Son, and left him a very good Estate. I have presumed to add this Particular, because I have had great Obligations to that Family; and upon King *Charles II.*'s Restoration, he was made Knight of the *Bath*, by the Name of *Sir Adrian Scroop*: And I was then one of the Gentlemen that brought him to the King, when his Majesty put the Red Ribband about him. But, leaving this Digression, let us turn again to the King's Army, which, about Ten in the Morning, began to descend the Hill, the Foot getting down several Ways which the Horse could not do, by reason of the Hill's Steepness. When the whole Army was down, and drawn into Order, the King desired the Earl of *Lindsey*, who was his Lieutenant General, that he would permit General *Ruthen*, an old *Scotch* Officer, and who had long served under *Gustavus Adolphus*, the late King of *Sweden*, and had been a Lieutenant General in his Army, to draw up his Majesty's Army that Day, and to command it, being an old experienced Gene-

General; to which the Earl of *Lindsey* (being wholly made of Obedience) willingly complied, and said he would serve the King that Day, as Collonel of the King's Royal Regiment of Foot Guards, which he did, accompanied by his Son, the Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*. The Enemy had all the Morning to draw up their Army, in a great plain Field, which they did to their best Advantage, by putting several Bodies of Foot with Retrenchments and Cannon before them, and all their Foot were lined with Horse behind them, with Intervals betwixt each Body, for their Horse to enter, if need required; and upon their right Wing were some Briars covered with Dragoons, and a little behind, on their left Wing, was the Town of *Keinton*, which supplied them with Provisions, and where their Baggage and Carriages were.

Our whole Army was drawn up in a Body, the Horse Three deep in each Wing, and the Foot in the Center Six deep. The Prince of *Wales's* Regiment was on the right Wing, which was commanded by Prince *Rupert*, and Collonel *Washington* was with his Dragoons upon our Right. In the Center was the Infantry, commanded in chief by General *Rutben*, and under him, by Sir *Jacob Astley*. The Earl of *Lindsey* marched on Foot, in the Head of the Regiment of the Royal Foot Guards, with his Son, the Lord *Willoughby*, and Sir *Edmond Verney* carried the Royal Standard. The left Wing of our Horse was commanded by Commissary General *Wilmot*, with Collonel *Fielding*
* and

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and some other principal Officers; and Collonel *George Lisle*, with Lieutenant Collonel *Ennis*, were in the left Wing, with a Regiment of Dragoons, to defend the Briars on that Side, and we had a Body of Reserve, of Six Hundred Horse, commanded by the Earl of *Carnarvon*. When our Army was drawn up at the Foot of the Hill, and ready to march, all the Generals went to the King (who intended to march with the Army) and desired he would retire to a rising Ground, some Distance from thence, on the Right, with the Prince of *Wales* and Duke of *York* (having his Guard of Pensioners on Horseback with him) from whence he might see the Issue of the Battle, and be out of Danger; and that otherwise the Army would not advance towards the Enemy: To which the King (very unwillingly) was at last perswaded.

Just before we began our March, Prince *Rupert* passed from one Wing to the other, giving positive Orders to the Horse, to march as close as was possible, keeping their Ranks with Sword in Hand, to receive the Enemy's Shot, without firing either Carbin or Pistol, till we broke in amongst the Enemy, and then to make use of our Fire-Arms as need should require; which Order was punctually observed. The Enemy stayed to receive us, in the same Posture as was formerly declared; and when we came within Cannon Shot of the Enemy, they discharged at us three Pieces of Cannon from their left Wing, commanded by Sir *James Ramsey*; which Cannon mounted over our Troops, without doing any Hurt, except that their se-

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cond

cond Shot killed a Quarter-Master in the Rear of the Duke of *York's* Troop. We soon after engaged each other, and our Dragoons on our Right beat the Enemy from the Briars, and Prince *Rupert* led on our right Wing so furiously, that, after a small Resistance, we forced their left Wing, and were Masters of their Cannon; and the Prince being extreamly eager of this Advantage (which he better knew how to take, than to keep) was not content with their Cannon, and keeping their Ground, but eagerly pursued the Enemy, who fled on the other Side of *Keinton* towards *Warwick*: And we of the Prince of *Wales's* Regiment, (who were all scattered) pursued also, till we met with two Foot Regiments of *Hambden* and *Hollis*, and with a Regiment of Horse coming from *Warwick* to their Army, which made us hasten as fast back as we had pursued. In this Pursuit I was wounded in the Head by a Person who turned upon me, and struck me with his Pole-axe, and was seconding his Blow, when Sir *Thomas Byron* being near, he shot him dead with his Pistol, by which Means I came back. In fine, by meeting these three Regiments, we were obliged to return back to our Army, and then found our great Error, in leaving our Foot naked, who were rudely handled by the Enemy's Horse and Foot together, in our Absence, who fell principally upon the King's Royal Regiment of Foot Guards, who lost Eleven of Thirteen Colours, the King's Standard-Bearer, Sir *Edmond Verney*, killed, and the Royal Standard taken,

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taken, which was presently retaken by Captain *John Smith*, who was Knighted for it that Night by the King, under the Standard Royal, and made a Baronet with the usual Ceremonies; and had afterwards a large Medal of Gold given him, with the King's Picture on the one Side, and the Banner on the other, which he always wore to his dying Day, in a large green watered Ribband, cross his Shoulders. He was afterwards killed at the Battle of *Alresford* in *Hampshire*, in the Year 1644, which was called *Cheriton* Fight, with the Lord *Bernard Stewart*, Brother to the Duke of *Richmond*, and several others. Sir *Robert Walsh*, an *Irishman*, who also pretended that he was very instrumental in regaining the Standard, did also in the same Manner wear a green Ribband with a Medal; but whether it was given him by Order, or how he came by it, I do not know, tho' I have often seen him wear it. In this Battle of *Edgehill* (as it was always called) during our Pursuit of the Enemy, the Earl of *Lindsey* was mortally wounded, and taken Prisoner, with his Son the Lord *Willoughby*, who killed the Man that wounded his Father, who died in the Earl of *Essex's* Coach, as he was carrying to *Warwick*. Now, when we returned from following the Enemy, the Night came soon upon us, whereas, in all Probability, we had gained the Victory, and made an End of the War, if we had only kept our Ground, after we had beaten the Enemy, and not left our Foot naked to their Horse and Foot: And,

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to add to our Misfortune, a careless Soldier, in fetching Powder (where a Magazin was) clapt his Hand carelessly into a Barrel of Powder, with his Match lighted betwixt his Fingers, whereby much Powder was blown up, and many kill'd. The Night then soon parted both Armies, and both Sides pretended to the Victory; but since we retired up the Hill, from whence we came down, and left the *Champ de Battaile* to the Enemy, I think we had no great Reason to brag of a Victory: For, the King, with a great Part of the Army, marched that Night up to *Wormington Hills*, it being a hard Frost, and very cold. But that which made us think we had the Victory, was, that whereas the Earl of *Essex* was commanded to hinder our getting to *London* before him, by this Battle we were nearest *London*, and might have been there much before the Earl of *Essex*, if we had taken right Measures: So that it may be said of this Battle, *Victus uterque fuit, Victor uterque fuit*. There is always great Difference in Relation of Battles, which is usually according to the Interest of the Relators; when it is certain, that, in a Battle, the next Man can hardly make a true Relation of the Actions of him that is next him; for, in such a Hurry and Smoke as in a set Field, a Man takes Notice of nothing but what relates to his own Safety: So that no Man give a clear Account of particular Passages.

On *Monday* Morning, being next after the Battle, several Parties were sent down to view the

the Dead, the greatest Part of the Enemy having retired in the Night to the Town of *Keinton*, which was near them; and Mr. *Adrian Scroop* having seen his Father fall (being much wounded) desired the Duke of *Lenox* to speak to the King, that one of his Coaches might go with him, to bring up his Father's Body; which being granted, he found his Father stript, with several very dangerous Wounds, and that he was alive: Whereupon he lapt him up in his Cloak, and brought him in the Coach, where he was presently dressed by the King's Chirurgeons, and by their Care and Skill was cured, and lived many Years after, tho' he had seventeen Wounds, and had died upon the Place, but that the Coldness of the Weather stopp'd the Bleeding of his Wounds, which saved also several other Mens Lives that were wounded. We rested all *Monday* upon the Hill, to put our Army in Order; and seeing the Enemy (as we thought) were preparing to retire, Prince *Rupert* was resolved, that *Monday* Night, to go down the Hill, at a Place called *Sun-Rising*, a Mile on our left Hand, and to fall upon the Enemy in their Retreat; and on *Tuesday* Morning very early, the Prince, with a strong Detachment of Horse and Dragoons, fell into *Keinton*, where he found all Houses full of wounded and sick Men, with divers Officers, and several Waggons loaded with Muskets and Pikes, and all Sorts of Ammunition, preparing to follow the Army, which was marched towards *Warwick*. These Arms were extreemly wanting in

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our Army, and were a very good Supply for some Hundreds of *Welchmen* were so brave, that they had no Arms but Pitchforks, and such like Tools, and many only with good Cudgels; yet they went down the Hill as eagerly to fight, as the best armed Men among them. And indeed most of the Gentry in North *Wales* most willingly ingaged for the King, and raised what Men they possibly could for his Service, while the King stayed in *Shropshire*; and the Gentry of that Country did in a most particular Manner shew their Zeal for his Majesty's Service, there being scarce a Family of any Consideration, in any of those Counties, that was not ingaged for the King; as the *Salisburies*, the *Mostyns*, the *Trevors*, the *Thelwells*, and several others whose Families I have forgotten: But this I certainly knew, that none served the King with greater Loyalty and Affection, than all the Gentry of North *Wales*, wherein the Family of *Bulkeley* must not be forgotten, who were always very eminent for the King's Service.

After this Battle of *Edgehill*, it was resolved the King should hasten to *London*, and that if he could get thither before the Earl of *Essex*, with his Army, the King would be certainly well received, and, in all Probability, make an End of the War, of which the Parliament was in such Fear, that several Expresses were sent to the Earl of *Essex*, to make all possible Haste with his Army to *London*, and prevent the King's Coming before him: But our King trifled away his Time in taking *Banbury* and
Broughton

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Broughton House, which belonged to the Lord *Say*, Places of very little Consideration! and so marched very slowly towards *London*, where the Earl of *Effex* with his Army arrived before him, tho' the King's Army was much nearer *London*, after the Battle of *Edgehill*, if right Use had been made of it. By Judgment of most, the Victory in this Battle was the King's, because he gain'd his Point, a clear Passage for his Way to *London*; of which the Parliament was so sensible, that not only reiterated Orders were sent to hasten the Earl of *Effex*'s March, but all the Shops, both in *London* and *Westminster*, were shut up the next Day after the Battle, that the People might be in a better Readiness to defend themselves and the Parliament.

But alas! the King retarded his March, of which the Earl of *Effex* taking hold, got between the King and *London*; and in this our March towards *London*, the Parliament sent a Petition to the King, in a much humbler Strain than their former Messages to the King used to be; which Petition the King liked well, and resolved to reside at his Castle of *Windsor*, there to receive the Parliament's Propositions: But News being then brought to the King, that *Effex* was advanced towards him, and had possessed the Passes of *Windsor*, *Kingston*, and *Acton*, and that if *Effex* should also take *Brentford*, the King would be wholly surrounded, and deprived either of moving or subsisting: Whereupon a Council of War was called, and Resolutions taken, that the King's Army should advance to

Brentford, where, at the first, we found considerable Opposition. The Prince of *Wales's* Regiment of Horse, where I was, being drawn up behind a great Hedge, where the Enemy had planted some Cannon, which we saw not, till they played so fast upon us, that we lost some Men, and were obliged to draw off and retire for our better Security; and upon our Foot's coming up, we beat the Regiments of *Hambden* and *Hollis* out of the Town, took several Prisoners and Arms, and sunk two great Barks in the River of *Thames*, with many Soldiers: And as two other Regiments came up to their Succour, they were also beaten, and we took some Colours and Cannon, and were intire Masters of *Brentford*, until the Night; but then finding the Earl of *Essex*, with his Army, was drawn out upon *Turnham Green*, with the Trained Bands of the City, and that the Enemy's Army was double to the King's, and that most of our Ammunition was spent; it was therefore thought fit by the Council, that the King should retreat. Whereupon the King retired that Night to the Lord *Cottington's* House, near *Hounslow*, and we marched the next Day by *Colebrook*, towards *Reading* and *Oxford*, the first of which Places was garrisoned, and *Oxford* was the King's Head Quarters, where he made his Residence. I can give this Relation with Certainty, being present in all that March, and in the Actions at *Brentford*, till the King's Return to *Oxford*, and then the Earl of *Nor-thampton* was commanded to *Banbury*, which was

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was given him for Winter Quarters, with Orders to raise a Regiment of Horse.

This Advance of the King's Army towards *London*, when a Treaty of Peace was proposed both by the Parliament and the City of *London*, in a milder Strain than they had ever done before, was by many thought imprudent to make the Breach wider, and divers Reflections were made upon it: However, the King sent Word to the Houses, that he intended to settle his Court at such a Distance from them, as might take away all Misapprehensions. Hereupon the City petition the King, professing their Grief for his Distrust of them, and declare their Loyalty to him. And the Parliament finding the general Inclinations of the People for Peace, resolved to send some Propositions to the King, which not being accepted, the Treaty was soon broken off. But then another Treaty was proposed in *March* following, and new Commissioners named, which were only the Earl of *Northumberland*, with four of the House of Commons, who had free Access to the King, who used them with great Civility and Favour, and treated personally with them, because their Instructions were very strict, and tied them up to treat with none but the King himself, where they often attended, and had Access at all Times when they desired it, and were allowed a very free Debate with his Majesty. In this Treaty the King shewed his great Parts and Abilities, Strength of Reason, and Quickness of Apprehension, with much Patience hearing what was objected

objected against him, wherein he allowed the Commissioners all Freedom, and when he differed from them in Opinion, he would tell them, by your Favour, my Lord *Northumberland* (who was the chief of the Commissioners) I am not of your Opinion, or, I think otherwise, and would himself sum up their Arguments, and give a clear Judgment upon them. The King's great Unhappiness was, that he had a better Opinion of others Judgment, than of his own (tho' weaker than his own) and of this these Commissioners at that time had a sad Experience, to their great Trouble.

It seems, in this Treaty, they so pressed his Majesty with their best Reasons and Arguments, to grant what they desired, that the King was so fully satisfied with their Reasons, that he absolutely agreed to what they proposed, and promised to give them their Answer the next Morning, according to their Desires; but because it was then late, and past Midnight, he deferred to give his Answer in Writing till the next Morning, and commanded them to wait upon him accordingly. The Commissioners hereupon went to their Lodging full of Joy, in Hopes to receive the Answer agreed upon; but, instead of what they expected, and was promised by the King, he gave them a Paper quite contrary to what was concluded between them the Night before. The Commissioners did most humbly expostulate with his Majesty, and pressed him upon his Royal Word, and the ill Consequences they feared would follow upon this new Paper: To
which

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which the King told them, he had altered his Mind, and that the Paper he gave them was his Answer which he was resolved to make upon their last Debate, and they could obtain no other Answer from him, which gave them much Sadness and Trouble. After this sad Rencounter, (which the Commissioners did not expect) they enquired of some of the King's particular Counsellours, how the King came to change his Mind, who said, that after the King had left his Council, and was undressing, some of those Gentlemen about him, whose Interest was for Continuance of the War, and hearing what Answer the King had promised, never left pressing the King, till they had perswaded and prevailed with him, to change his former Resolution, and to order his Answer to be drawn as then delivered; which being intimated to the Commissioners, they used their utmost Endeavours to dissuade the King from sending this Answer, fearing it would break the Treaty; but they could not prevail, the Answer was sent, and upon the Parliament's receiving it, they forthwith recalled their Commissioners, and the Treaty ended unsuccessfully, having lasted from the Beginning of *March* till the Middle of *April*. This Relation I had from one of the Commissioners, my Cousin German, who, I am sure, wished well to the King, and desired nothing more than a good Peace between the King and his People: And this Gentleman was after accused in the House of Commons, by a Lord who was at the Time of the Treaty with the
King

King in *Oxford*, but soon after deserted the King, and went to the Parliament, and accused that Commissioner to have had several private Conferences with the King, unknown to the rest of the Commissioners; and if that Person had not been powerfully supported, and highly defended by Mr. *Denzell Hollis*, who was also a Commissioner, that other Person had been ruined by that Lord's false Accusation, who quite lost his Reputation by it. Thus we see a good King was unhappily misled by those about him, which caused him often to refuse those things to which he should chearfully have consented, and freely have condescended to many things which he should have denied to the last. It is certain, a Prince should esteem nothing more precious than his Word, nothing more sacred than his Promise; which made *Francis I. of France* say, That if Faith was totally banished out of the World, it should be found in his Word. Indeed a Prince should be careful of promising any thing that may be of Damage to him, and where the Thing promised cannot without good Reason bind to the Performance; and whether what the King promised to those Commissioners were of that sort, I will not undertake to determine.

When the King had settled his Court at *Oxford*, recruited his Army, and fortified his Garrisons in all Parts, he gave *Banbury*, and that Part of the Country, to the Earl of *Northampton*, who was commanded to raise a Regiment of Horse, which was given to the Lord
Compton,

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Compton, his eldest Son, and Sir *Charles*, his second Son, was made Lieutenant Collonel of it: To Sir *William Compton*, his third Son, was given the Castle of *Banbury*: One Troop in his Regiment of Horse was given to Captain *James Chamberlain*, Brother to Sir *Thomas*, who was then High Sheriff of *Oxfordshire*: To Captain *James Chamberlain* were given the two Villages of Upper and Lower *Heigford*, opposite to *North* and *Steeple Aston*, in *Oxfordshire*, for his Quarters, while he raised the said Company. Mr. *Herbert Jeffries*, of *Herefordshire*, was his Lieutenant, and I was his Cornet. This Company was soon raised, and the first Time the Captain went out with it, he was killed near *Northampton*, by one Captain *Lawson*. About the same time Mr. *Herbert Jeffries* was sent for by his Uncle Sir *Herbert Price*, upon Mr. *Jeffries*'s Father being drowned in passing the River *Wye*: Whereupon Mr. *Jeffries* came no more back, and the Troop of Horse fell to my Lot, where I continued not long; for the Lord *Wentworth*, who was Major-General of the Horse by the Death of Sir *Thomas Byron*, was also made Collonel of the Prince of *Wales*'s Regiment; and being very inquisitive to find out a young active Man to be his Adjutant, I was recommended to his Lordship, by Mr. *Hutton Farmer* (Son to Sir *William Farmer* of *Euston* in *Northamptonshire*) who was at that time Cornet to the Prince of *Wales*. The great Difficulty was, whether I should quit my Troop, to be his Lordship's Adjutant? To which I was

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advised

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advised by many, assuring me by that Employment I should know more of the War in one Year, than being a Captain all my Lifetime; and so I quitted my Company, with the good Will of the Earl of *Northampton*, after I had been at the Battle of *Middleton-Cheney*, near *Banbury*, where we beat the Parliament Troops. Upon the quitting my Troop, Mr. *George Chamberlain*, another Brother of Sir *Thomas*, was made Captain of it; and I had not been long with my Lord *Wentworth*, before my Lord *Wilmot*, being Lieutenant General of the Horse, desired me to be his Adjutant, which his Lordship could not refuse, the Lord *Wilmot* being his superior General Officer; and in that Station I remained with my Lord *Wilmot*, to his great Satisfaction, till his Disgrace in *Cornwall*, as shall be said hereafter.

During this Year 1643, I was Adjutant to my Lord *Wilmot*, when he defeated *Waller* at *Roundway-Down*, near the *Devizes*, took his Cannon, Ammunition, and Baggage, with some Foot Colours and Standards, and *Waller* himself escaped to *Bristol*. By this Loss of *Waller's*, the King was Master of all the West, *Bristol* and *Exeter* being soon after delivered; and if the King had then marched to *London*, he had, in all Probability, made an End of the War. But he was ill (if not maliciously) perswaded, to besiege *Gloucester*, which was the only Place left to the Parliament in these Parts. The King had Intentions of Storming it, but fearing to lose the best Part of his Infantry in that Action,

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Action, and being assured it could not be relieved, made the King lose much Time, and the Opportunity of taking it: For the Earl of *Essex* soon raised an Army in *London*, for its Relief; to prevent which, Prince *Rupert* and the Lord *Wilmot* were sent with all the Horse, to stop his Passage, or at least to retard his March through *Oxfordshire*: And tho' the Prince had then a brave Army, and was most commonly in a Race Campagne, and that we still marched before *Essex*, to eat up the Provisions, and to attend his Motions, yet we took no Advantage of him, nor was his Design of raising the Siege of *Gloucester* prevented, tho' it was then in the last Extremity. When *Essex* came upon the Brow of the Hills, not far distant from *Gloucester*, he discharged some Cannon, to give them Notice of his Coming, and the King hereupon raised the Siege, without any Loss or Impeachment from the Town. Thus, when the King's Affairs were in a prosperous Condition, he trifled away Time to no Purpose in that unfortunate Siege. When *Essex* had put the City of *Gloucester* in Order, and left them Cannon and Ammunition, he marched unexpectedly to *Tewksbury*, which he surprized, and sent from thence great Stores of all Sorts of Provision, which the King sent thither from his Camp; and *Essex* likewise took in *Tewksbury* two Regiments of Horse, with divers Officers, commanded by Sir *Nicholas Crisp*; from whence he marched towards *London*, by the way of *Hungerford* and *Newbury*, where was the first *Newbury*.

bury Fight; but since I was not present in that Battle, I will not pretend to give a Relation of it: Only this I may say truly, that we staked there Pearls against Pebbles, and lost some Men there of great Consideration, tho' the Enemy lost more Soldiers, and were obliged to quit their Station; and in this Year 43, the King was so successful, that the Parliament began to despair, and the prevailing Party in the House of Commons were ready to truss up Bag and Baggage: But *Essex's* Success at *Gloucester* changed the Scene of publick Affairs, and the King returned to *Oxford*. It was about this time that the Earls of *Bedford* and *Holland* deserted the Parliament, and came to *Oxford*, to submit themselves to the King: But they not being received nor countenanced as they expected, they both returned again to the Parliament: When the King ought most certainly to have received them well, and to have used them kindly, for Encouragement to others. But our unfortunate Prince was still advised to take false Measures, in Affairs that most nearly concerned him. Upon their first Coming, there was a Debate in Council, by the King's Order, how they should be received? Some thought his Majesty should receive them very graciously, and with kind Expressions of his Acceptance of their Return to his Service, and that the Behaviour of all others towards them, should be such as might make them think themselves very welcome, without taking Notice of any thing formerly done amiss by them: But others, of a
contrary

contrary Judgment, would not have them admitted into the King's Presence. Betwixt these Extremes, others were of Opinion, they should neither be neglected nor courted, but admitted to kiss the King and Queen's Hands. But the Reason of old *Fabius* ought to have been considered, which he gave in the Case of *Cassius Altinius*, who, after the Battle of *Cannæ*, deserted the *Romans*, and fled to *Hannibal*; and when the Condition of the *Romans* mended, he came again to them. Hereupon many thought he should be esteemed as a common Enemy, and sent back to *Hannibal*, as a perfidious Person; but *Fabius* reprehended their Severity as unreasonable, who judged in the Heat of War, as in the Time of Peace, and told them, their chief Care ought to be, that none of their Friends should forsake them, and next, that they who had forsaken them, might return to their Obedience and Protection, and be well used: Which Method should have been taken with these two Earls, which had prevented their Return, and encouraged others to follow them.

But it was the unhappy Temper of those who were often called to Council in this King's Time, that Resolutions taken upon full Debate, were seldom prosecuted with equal Resolution, but often changed upon new and short Debates; and many Counsellours were irresolute and unconstant, and full of Objections, which much hindered good Resolutions. And the great Misfortune was, that the King most commonly

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considered more the Person that spoke, as he was in his Grace or Prejudice, than the Counsel it self; and always suspected, or at least trusted less to his own Judgment than he ought to have done, which rarely deceived him so much as that of other Men: And if in the Case aforementioned, he had followed his own Judgment, he had received and used those Lords very kindly. But at this time the King's Affairs were in a flourishing Condition, and it was the unlucky Temper of the King's Party, to be the most desperately cast down upon the least ill Success, and, upon any good, to be the most elated; and therefore were of Opinion against receiving those Lords with any Civility, believing they returned to the King, because the Parliament's Affairs were at that time but in a tottering Condition.

The King having successfully settled military Affairs the last Year, and the Parliament fearing a farther Encrease of them, called to their Assistance their Brethren the *Scots*, in Pursuance of their wicked League and Covenant; which second Voyage of theirs into *England*, brought that Deluge of Mischiefs which afterwards followed; for, in the Beginning of the Year 44, the King's Affairs begun to change Face, for *Effex* and *Waller* were soon recruited at *London*, and by the Help of other associated Counties, they raised two powerful Armies, marched into *Oxfordshire*, hovering about the King's Head Quarters, who not liking such Neighbours, had a Mind to draw them from thence,

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thence, and therefore left *Oxford*. Upon this the Enemy was ordered to follow the King, leaving his evil Counsellours unmolested in *Oxford*, contrary to what they had always till then pretended, that their Design was only to remove the evil Counsellours; but now it plainly appeared, that their Design was against the King's sacred Person, since both Armies followed him, which being too great to continue long together, they separated, and *Essex* was perswaded by the Lord *Roberts*, and others, to reduce the Western Counties to the Obedience of the Parliament, and that *Waller*, with his Army, should attend the King's Motions, who was marching, as the Enemy thought, towards *Wales*: But the King gave *Waller* the Go-by, and having gotten before him, was marching to *Daventry* in great Diligence, having left a strong Guard of Dragoons at *Cropredy Bridge* (a Pass over the *Charwell* between both Armies) *Waller* being on the other Side the River, waiting the King; and perceiving the Guard was drawn off from *Cropredy Bridge*, and that the Van of the King's Army was much before their Rear, the Van having marched faster than was necessary; so that the Rear of the King's were but then come to their Rendezvous, and were not advanced so far as the Bridge, which the King's Guard had quitted. *Waller* taking this Advantage, passed over a great Part of his Army at this Bridge, under the Command of Collonel *Weems*, who was General of the Artillery, with several Cannon

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of *Weems's* Invention, being more easy of Carriage; and this great Detachment of *Waller's* Army was drawn up just in the Way where the Rear of the King's Army was to pass, which was commanded by the old Earl of *Cleveland*, who was of Necessity obliged to fight the Enemy,, before he could get to the Van of the King's Army; the whole Army of *Waller* being drawn up on the other Side the River, to pass the Bridge, in Case *Weems* succeeded, of which *Waller* doubted not, having passed over many more Troops than the Earl of *Cleveland* had in the Rear. However, the Earl behaved himself so well in that Engagement, that, after a very sharp Dispute, the Enemy was beaten, and forced over *Cropley* Bridge, to join their Army. Many were killed upon the Place, and many Prisoners taken, with all their Cannon and Ammunition, and, amongst the Prisoners, *Weems*, a *Scot*, and the King's sworn Servant, being made Master-Gunner of *England*, a considerable Employment; and besides, he had a good Sum of Money given him, for the Invention of making those Leather Cannon. After the Battle, he was brought before the King, and had the Impudence to tell his Majesty, in his *Scotch* Tone, That, in good Faith, his Heart was always towards his Majesty. This Victory was not obtained without some Loss on our Side, for Sir *William Boteler*, and Sir *William Clark*, both Collonels of Horse, were killed, and much regretted, being brave Men. We had there a Regiment of Dragoons commanded

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manded by Collonel *Hooper*, who signalized himself upon this Occasion so well, that tho' he was of a mean Education, and small Extraction, yet such particular Notice was taken of him by the Earl of *Cleveland*, who gave so good an Account of his Service that Day, that the King gave him the Honour of Knighthood, by the Name of Sir *Thomas Hooper*, to encourage others to follow his Example. This Defeat made *Waller* hasten to *London* for Recruits, and the King taking Advantage of his Retreat, turned again with his Army, and marched with great Diligence after the Earl of *Essex*, who was gone into the West.

While the King was upon his March, he had an Account, that *York* was besieged by the *Scots*, who were joined with *Fairfax* and *Manchester*; upon which Information, the King sent Orders to Prince *Rupert*, to join with the Marquess of *Newcastle's* Army, to raise that Siege, which the Prince did; but not content with that, he would needs follow the Enemy, with whom he fought upon *Marston-Moor*, four Miles from *York*, and had defeated the Enemy, disordered their main Battle, possess'd their Cannon, and forced their three Generals out of the Field; but being too furious in pursuing his Advantage, and his Soldiers too busy in Pillaging, *Cromwell*, who then commanded the Horse under *Manchester*, having rallied together some Troops, charged the Prince, and pressed him so hard, that he changed the whole Fortune of the Day, and forced the Prince to a

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disorderly Flight, and gained an entire Victory, and took Prisoners Major General *George Porter*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, Collonel *Tybiard*, and several others. This Defeat was infinitely prejudicial to the King's Affairs in the North, the Loss of *York* soon following it, and many Reflections were made upon the Prince's Fighting, which he should not have done, his Business only having been to raise the Siege of *York*. Hereupon the Marquess of *Newcastle*, with several other eminent Officers in the North, being highly dissatisfied with the Prince, quitted *England*, and went to *Hamburgb*, whereby the whole North was soon after lost. The King having received an Account of this Defeat in his March, hastened the more after *Essex*, and being come into a Race Campagne in *Cornwal*, three or four Miles only from the Enemy, and General *Goring* being newly come from the North, after the Defeat of *Marston-Moor*, and was then with the King in the Head of his Army, the Van of which was that Day commanded by the Lord *Wentworth*, Major General, and the Lord *Wilmot*, Lieutenant General, brought up the Rear of the Army with his own Brigade; and being ready to go to Prayers, Mr. *Elliot*, of the King's Bed-chamber, came to his Lordship, and told him, the King would speak with him: To which the Lord *Wilmot* replied, *You see I am just going to Prayers, I will serve God first, and then I shall serve the King the better after, and will presently wait upon the King after Prayers:* Which

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Which being ended, as his Lordship was marching up to the King, Sir *Edward Sydenham*, Knight-Marshal, came riding down the Hill, with several Gentlemen, and told the Lord *Wilmot*, that the King commanded him to be his Prisoner. His Lordship being somewhat surprized with this Message, turned his Horse, and I asked him, what Service he would command me? To which his Lordship presently replied, *I can command you nothing, being a Prisoner; but I pray you acquaint the Lord Wentworth with my present Condition*; which I did, who was much surprized with it, and so were all the other General Officers to whom I told it; and they all concluded it was the Effect of General *Goring's* coming to the King. The Lord *Wentworth* forthwith alighted, with several other principal Officers, to consider what Measures to take, in so sudden and unexpected a Change, and were all much unsatisfied, believing General *Goring* to be the Cause, of whom they had no good Opinion, since his Examination in Parliament, at the Beginning of the War, when he was Governour of *Portsmouth*, which he soon delivered, and made good Conditions for his going into *France*, after he had received Money on both Sides, and restored to neither. Upon this Consideration, the General Officers of Horse were so far from being satisfied with the Change, that they presently drew up an Address to the King, which was penned by Mr. *Adrian Scroop*, the Substance of which was, as I well remember, as followeth.

That they, the Lord Wentworth, and other General Officers of the Army, having had the Honour long to serve his Majesty under the Command of the Lord Wilmot, were so well and intimately acquainted with all his Concerns relating to the Army, that they were confident he could be guilty of no Crime but what they must know; and that finding his Lordship suddenly disgraced, and fallen into his Majesty's Displeasure, they therefore most humbly begged his Majesty would graciously please to let them know what Fault the Lord Wilmot had committed, that they might free themselves from it, or most humbly implore the King's Pardon for it. This Address was presented to the King by the Lord Wentworth, accompanied with several General Officers, and others of the Army. I was then present, when the King, having first read the Address to himself, gave this verbal Answer, which I heard the King say. That if the Lord Wilmot had continued to command his Army of Horse, his Crown could not have long stood upon his Head; and he assured the Lord Wentworth, and those Officers with him, that when the Business was over with the Earl of Essex (with whom he was now engaged) we should all know what Fault the Lord Wilmot had committed: That, in the Interim his Majesty was well satisfied of their Loyalty, who had presented that Address, and commanded them to go to their several Brigades and Regiments, and to obey General Goring, whom he had made General of all his Cavalry,

Hereupon

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Hereupon General *Goring* went to the Head of the Horse, to command a Thousand to be drawn out; but not finding the Lord *Wentworth*, nor the Adjutant General, he returned to the King, and complained, he could find no General Officer, or Adjutant, to draw out a Party: Whereupon the King asked for me (who every Night brought his Majesty the List of the Quarters) and sent *Tomkins*, an Equerry, to find me, and bring me to his Majesty, which he soon did; and the King commanded me to go with General *Goring*, and obey his Orders: And accordingly I forthwith drew out a Detachment of One Thousand Horse, under the Conduct of Collonel *Richard Nevil*, of *Billingbeer* in *Berkshire*. The General was pleased with my Diligence, in so soon drawing out the Detachment, and commanded me to come with him, and told me, he made me that Day his Adjutant; and that I being the first Man that the King had recommended to him, he would take particular Care of me, and assured me, that whenever Collonel *Scrimfour*, an old *Scotchman*, that was Adjutant-General, died, he would make me Adjutant-General; which happened soon after, and then I was made Adjutant-General of all the Horse that were, or should be raised in the Kingdom of *England*, Dominion of *Wales*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, for so my Commission ran. But, leaving this Digression, I must not omit to tell, that General *Goring* being advanced to the Top of the Hill, about two Miles before our Army,

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had there a perfect View of the Enemy, who were then about *Lestmythiel*. He stopp'd then, and sent me back in great Haste to the King, to tell him in what Posture the Enemy was, desiring the King to advance with his Army without Delay, and that he would make good the Post where he was, which would be very advantageous for his Majesty's Army. In the mean time that I went from General *Goring* to the King, he commanded Collonel *Nevil* to send a Party towards *Buconnock*, the Lord *Mobun's* House, where perhaps a further Discovery might be made of the Enemy. Whereupon Collonel *Nevil* sent out a Party under the Command of Monsieur *Gascoigne*, a *Florentine*, who meeting some Country-Men, he asked them, if they knew any thing of the Enemy? Who told him, if he made Haste to the Lord *Mobun's* House, he would find there some of the Parliament Officers at Dinner, not believing the King's Army was so near them. Whereupon the Party hastened thither, and surprized several Officers, whom they brought Prisoners; for which Service, and some others after, he was Knighted, and known by the Name of Sir *Bernard Gascoigne*, and was made Major to General *Goring's* Regiment of Horse, and served not only to the End of the War in very good Esteem, but was also at the Rising in *Essex*, and condemned to be shot to Death at *Colchester*, with Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Sir *George Lisle*; but being a Foreigner, he was reprieved, and saved. And now I will tell the Reasons why

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why I appointed Collonel *Nevil* to command this Detachment of a Thousand Horse, tho' it was not his Turn to go. Whilst the Address from the Lord *Wentworth* and the General Officers was making to the King, his Lordship commanded me to go to such Collonels of Horse in the Army, to desire their Agreeing and Signing to the Address: And when I told Collonel *Nevil* of it, he said, he was as great a Servant to the Lord *Wilmot*, and had as good an Opinion of him as any Person in the Army, well knowing that his Lordship had long and faithfully served the King; but yet, whoever the King should set over him, he would obey: And added, that he thought not fit, at that Time especially, to dispute the King's Commands, when they were going to attack the Enemy; and that therefore he would have no Hand in the Address, and desired the Lord *Wentworth* to excuse him: And it was upon this Consideration that I chose Collonel *Nevil* to command that Detachment, tho' I knew it was not his Turn to go; in which he acted to the General's great Satisfaction, who had ever after a great Esteem and Value for him.

At my Return to the King with the Message of General *Goring*, the King forthwith marched with his Army towards him, who not only made good the Post where he was, but, upon the Earl of *Brentford*'s drawing and advancing farther, (who then commanded the Army in chief under the King) and reviewing the Situation of *Essex*'s Army, which then began to retire

retire towards *Foy*, the King's Army did thereupon advance nearer the Enemy, and the King's General Head Quarters were settled at *Buconnock*, the Lord *Mobun's* House, and Sir *Richard Greenvil* was ordered, with some Regiments of Foot, to fix them at the Lord *Roberts's* House, a strong Quarters opposite to the King's, on the other Side the Valley; at the Head of which Valley a strong Guard of Horse was ordered to be constantly kept, to keep in the Enemy; our whole Army being encamped on both Sides the Valley, which prevented the Enemy from making any Excursion that Way. But, because the rest of *Cornwal* behind the Enemy was open, it was thought necessary to send a strong Detachment thither, to stop their Passage on that Side. Whereupon General *Goring* was sent with the greatest Part of the Horse to *St. Blase* Bridge, which was the only Passage by which the Enemy could enlarge their Quarters on that Side. Sir *Thomas Basset*, a *Cornish* Man, was likewise sent thither with his Tertia of Foot, and I was with his Excellency. The Enemy, by this Disposition of our Army, finding they were encompassed on all Sides, and that it was impossible to break through with their whole Army, without apparent Ruine, resolved to chuse the least Evil, and that their Horse, being about Two Thousand, should attempt in the Night to break thro' the Valley between both Armies, which succeeding, they might march with great Diligence, and pass the River at *Saltafb*, before our Army could overtake them,

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and

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and so get to *Plymouth*, and that *Essex* should take Shipping at *Foy*, and meet his Horse at *Plymouth*; and that Major General *Skippon*, who commanded the Infantry, should stay with them, to defend them as long as he could, and at last make Articles for them, being caught in a Net. This Resolution being taken, it was put in Execution the next Night; and General *Goring* being at *St. Blase*, a Soldier from the King's Quarters, for Orders brought a Letter without any Seal, written in great Haste by the King himself, in these Words: *Goring, the Enemy have, this Night past, broke thro' our Quarters with their Horse, after some Resistance made by our Horse Guard commanded by Cleveland, who was not able to hinder their Passage, being near five times his Number. They were like to have surprized Sir Edward Waldgrave's Brigade in their Passage; but he having some Notice of their March, prevented them. They are gone in great Haste, without Bag or Baggage, towards Saltash, commanded by Sir William Balfour. Some of our Horse are gone to stop their Passage at Saltash, if it be possible: You must therefore immediately march after them with all your Horse, and leave Butler with the Foot to keep St. Blase Bridge. The General got his Army together forthwith, and marched after the Enemy with great Diligence, but was told by some Troops that followed them from the King's Quarters, that it was impossible to overtake them, they being returned upon that Account. Upon this Information, which the*
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General had from some considerable Officers, who had followed the Enemy to no Purpose, his Excellency thought fit to return, and sent the Horse to their Quarters, and went to tell the King, he had been able to do nothing of what he had commanded. The General then stayed with the King, where Orders were forthwith given concerning the Enemy's Infantry; and upon Assurance that the Earl of *Essex*, with the Lord *Roberts*, and several others, were gone by Sea to *Plymouth*, and that their Foot Army began early in the Morning to retire towards *Foy*, in Hopes to find Ships there to transport them to their General *Essex* at *Plymouth*: The King's Army hereupon, being in their Rear, pressed them so close, that they were forced to fight from Hedge to Hedge, being in an inclosed Country; and tho' they were many times put to a disorderly Retreat, however they fought till the Night parted us. The next Morning early Major General *Skippon* sent Collonel *Butler* to desire a Parly, which being accepted, and Hostages delivered, the Treaty began that Morning in the King's Quarters, and Articles were soon agreed upon, all Arms, Cannon and Ammunition, to be delivered with their Carriages. We took Fifty Pieces of Brass Cannon, Three Hundred Barrels of Powder, with Match and Ball proportionable, Seven Hundred Carriages, between Nine and Ten Thousand Arms, and many common Soldiers deserted, and those who stayed, marched off only with Sticks in their Hands; but all

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Collonels and Field Officers were on Horseback, with their Swords only, with Major General *Skippon* in the Head of the Army, who carried his Loss with a very good Grace, and they were to be conducted to *Winchester*.

Collonel *Thomas Bulstrode*, my Cousin German, had there a Foot Regiment, and I prevailed with General *Goring*, that, if I could disengage him from that Service, he should be well received, and have the same Command in our Army: And, in order to this, I accompanied him two Days, and shewed him all the Kindness I could, and used my best Endeavours to take him off from that Party; but he was so bigotted, and seduced by the Zealots of that Army, that I could prevail nothing with him, who told me plainly, he was resolved to suffer with his Brethren (as he called them) rather than to quit them, or accept of any Employment I could offer him: And added, that his Father was Governour of *Aylesbury*, and had raised at his own Expences two Regiments for the Parliament, and that he was resolved to run the same Fortune with the rest of his Comrades, and therefore desired I would not press him farther in that against which he had taken a final Resolution; and so I left him as I found him, wilful, stubborn, and full of rebellious Principles.

This Defeat of their Army in *Cornwal* was certainly of very great Consequence; for, tho' their Horse escaped, yet most of their Foot were destroyed by their long and tedious March

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thro' an Enemy's Country, wanting Provisions and Necessaries, especially thro' *Cornwal* and *Devonshire*, which were great Enemies to them, and all our Army of Horse marching at the same time near them, towards *Oxford*, and our Infantry followed; so that the Country People would scarce give them Provisions for Money. They found the same also in *Dorsetshire*, the Country People being usually for the strongest Party, and the King's Affairs at that time run very smoothly: And tho' the Parliament Officers did always lessen their Defeats, and enlarge their Victories, yet this Loss of theirs was so visible, that it gave great Reputation to the King's Affairs, and many scurvy Reflections were made upon *Essex's* leaving the Army, which did proceed (as was publickly said) either out of Fear or Cowardice, neither of which was believed by thinking Men, knowing that the Earl of *Essex* durst fight, and had fought, and very well deserved of the Parliament before; and therefore they were rather of Opinion, that *Essex* finding more of their Intentions, who managed the great Design in the House of Commons, than was at first imparted to him, he saw no Way would bring the leading Members in both Houses to a Compliance with the King, in those peaceable Propositions his Majesty made to them, by his Letters, not only after *Waller's* Defeat at *Cropredy*, but after his signal Victory in *Cornwal*, than by keeping things as near as his Excellency could, in an equal Balance. However, it was generally known, that there

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there were great Designs against *Effex*, many being very desirous to remove him from his Station of General, upon their Jealousy that he was too much inclined to Peace, tho' we found no such thing from him, neither had the Parliament any Reason to believe it; for, by raising the Siege of *Gloucester*, which *Effex* had done with great Dexterity, he did the Parliament so great Service, that they could never sufficiently acknowledge it; that Siege having been one of the greatest Misfortunes that happened to King *Charles*, during the War; and those who advised the King to it, either thro' Ignorance or Malice, did more Mischief to the King's Affairs, than the greatest of his Enemies: For if the King had marched towards *London*, when he sat down before *Gloucester*, he had, in all human Appearance, made an End of the War. But this King was very ill served in his Wars, thro' too much Fire and Heat in some of his Generals, by their frequent Factions among themselves, wherein the King found Difficulty enough to reconcile them, even where he was in Person, and divers sudden Changes were made afterwards, which proved very disadvantageous to the King. This was the Time, when really those that wished well to the King, yet sacrificed his Security to their Animosities against each other, without any Design of Treachery, but to the King's irreparable Damage: A Time, in which Want of Discretion produced as much Mischief as the most plain Villainy; for the King suffered as much by
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the Faction of his Counsellours, by their not foreseeing what was evident, and by their Jealousies of what was not like to be; they often deliberated too long without Resolution, and as often resolved without deliberating, and never executed rigorously what was resolved upon; and all went to wreck by Negligence, Inadvertency, and Dejection of Spirit. It was in this Year that the Queen was delivered at *Exeter* of the Princess *Henrietta Maria*, who was put into the Hands of the Lady *Dalkeith*; after which the Queen took Shipping at *Pendennis* Castle in *Cornwal*, and arrived safely in *France*.

Before the King left *Bucdonnock* in *Cornwal*, several Addresses were made to him in the Lord *Wilmot's* Behalf; but the Lord *Digby* being then Secretary of State, still delayed the Business; the Lord *Wilmot*, in the mean time, being first sent Prisoner to *Exeter*, from thence to *Barnstable*. At last, upon the King's being daily importuned in that Affair, the Lord *Digby* gave this Answer from the King, and that they were to expect no other, which was as follows. That, upon the Earl of *Essex's* marching into *Cornwal*, it was resolved at a Cabinet Council, where the Lord *Wilmot* was, That the King should write with his own Hand to the Earl of *Essex*, offering him what Conditions he pleased, if he would lay down his Arms, come to the King, and leave his Army to the King's Mercy; and it was precisely ordered by the King in Council, that no Person should take Notice of that Letter,

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Letter, or send any Message to the Earl of Essex: That, notwithstanding this particular Command of the King's, the Lord Wilmot bid him that carried the Letter, to remember his Service to the Earl of Essex, desiring he would lay hold of the Opportunity then offered, assuring him the King should make good his Word, and that he (the Lord Wilmot) would take Care the Courtiers should not hinder it, nor carry things as they had done. Upon this Answer the Officers gave over their Pursuit of any farther Addresses, and the Lord Wilmot was no farther questioned, but went into France at the End of the War, and was the chief Person that saved the Life of King Charles II. after his Defeat at Worcester, and carried him safe into France, and was in great Esteem with that King, even to his Death; and his Disgrace under King Charles I. was look'd upon purely as an Effect of the Power General Goring had at that time with the King, who had certainly all Wilmot's Faults, but wanted his Regularity, and preserving his Respects with the Officers. Wilmot always shut Debauchery out of his Business, never neglected that, and so rarely miscarried in it: Goring had a sharper Wit, and much a keener Courage and Presence of Mind in Danger, in which Wilmot could not behave himself so well, and therefore warily declined it, as he did near Southam, at the Beginning of the War, when the King was near Coventry, before his Standard was set up; and for missing that Opportunity of Fighting, his Lordship

was much blamed. *Wilmot* never drank, when he was within Distance of an Enemy, and *Goring* seldom or never refused it, and could not resist Temptations; and therefore he had always much Company, and few Friends, and he loved no Man so well, but he would cozen him, and then laugh at him for being cozened.

About this Time, General *Goring* was sent for with his Forces to the King, and upon his first coming, lying at *Bampton in the Bush*, he defeated the Enemy, which gave him such Reputation, that he was sent into the West with full Power as Generalissimo, and General of all the Horse of *England*. His Excellency then went to *Taunton*, and besieged it, which Place was reduced to some Necessity, when Collonel *Graves* came to relieve it: Whereupon the General drew up the Hills, whilst *Graves* put some Recruits and Provisions into the Town. At the same time the General sent Sir *John Digby*, Major General of the Horse, with a great Detachment, to fall upon Collonel *Graves* in his Retreat; in which Action Sir *John Digby* had good Success, and took many Prisoners: But being shot in the Arm, he was sent to *Bridgewater*, to be cured; but his Arm gangrened, and he there died, to the great Regret of the Army, and of all that knew him. So soon as *Graves* was retired, General *Goring* drew down his Army again to besiege *Taunton*, which put the Garrison into greater Consternation than before, believing the King must have had some extraordinary Success, which made our General

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ral take those Measures. We pressed them so hard, that we were like to be soon Masters of the Place, but that an unlucky Accident happened, of Sir *William Courtney's* and Collonel *Thornbill's* falling foul upon each other, instead of the Enemy, which was a great Misfortune; and tho' the Governour, *Blague*, defended the Place very bravely, we were likely to be Masters of it in a very little time.

But I must not forget, that, after the Defeat in *Cornwal*, the King staying some time in the Western Parts, *Effex* got together another Army, and being joined with *Waller* and *Manchester*, was then so strong, that he hoped to take his Revenge, and encompass the King, who was then going to *Oxford*, taking *Newbury* in his Way. *Effex*, with his Army, had made his Rendezvous in *Aldermarston* Park, belonging to Sir *Humphrey Foster*; from whence he came more suddenly upon us than we expected, which put us into some Confusion. They attacked us at the same time in several Places, with different Success, being much stronger than we; and when they could not prevail in one Place, they attack'd us in another, hoping in the End to surround us: So that there was fighting at the same time in several Places, in most of which the Enemy prevailed, and we retired, and were upon the Defensive in all Parts. Upon the West Side of *Spine* they pressed us very hard, where young Sir *John Grenvil* was posted upon a high Rising Ground, with some Foot and Cannon, with a small Retrenchment before him;

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General *Goring* being then on that Side, and seeing the Enemy intended to attack that Place with Horse and Foot, to prevent which, he resolved to charge their Horse with the Earl of *Cleveland's* Brigade, which was then drawn up on that Side, which was done accordingly: But the Earl of *Cleveland* engaging his Person too far, was there taken Prisoner, and then a great Body of the Enemy's Foot advanced in good Order upon Sir *John Grenvil*, forced him from that Post, with the Loss of some Men and Cannon, and himself wounded in the Head with a Sword in this Action. Upon this Success, the Enemy pursued furiously, and the Fight continued very hot, the Enemy still advancing: Whereupon I was commanded by General *Goring*, to bring up the Queen's Regiment of Horse, which was then in Reserve, commanded by Sir *John Cansfield*, who charged them so home, that he stopp'd their Career, and obliged them to retreat, which gave some breathing Time to our Troops on that Side; but in this Action Sir *John Cansfield* had one of his Legs shot and broken: And while we were thus fighting on that Side of *Spine, Manchester*, with his Army, attacked Mr. *Doleman's* House at *Shaw*, below the Castle, where there was a sharp Engagement all that Afternoon, and the Garden was warmly attacked, and as well defended, by the Collonels *Lisle* and *Tbelwell*, with the Help of Sir *Thomas Hooper's* Dragoons; and a little before the Evening, Sir *John Brown*, with the Prince's Regiment of Horse, charged the Enemy

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my so briskly, that he obliged them to retreat up the Hill, with the Loss of some Colours, and two Field Pieces of Cannon. Thus the Fight continued on all Sides, till the Night parted us. The King staid in the Field till Midnight, that all our Cannon were drawn within the Walls of *Dennington* Castle, for their Security, and then General *Goring*, with most of the Army, marched that Night towards *Oxford*, without any Alarm from the Enemy, who durst not follow us, and the King went to *Bristol*. The next Day, after our Retreat, *Essex* possess'd himself very quietly of *Newbury*, making little Doubt of taking *Dennington* Castle, which was thrice summoned, and as often stormed, but without Success; and finding it would be a Work of Time, and nothing was to be got there but Blows, he retired with his Army, and quitted *Newbury*; to which Place General *Goring* soon came again, relieved the Castle with what was wanting, and brought off all our Cannon.

The Parliament finding that *Newbury* was quitted, not only without, but against their Order, and all the Cannon brought away from *Dennington* Castle, tho' the Parliament Armies were more than double to the Number of the King's, they were much displeased at the Proceedings of *Essex*, which being joined with great Aspersions of his ill Conduct in *Cornwal*, made the Parliament resolve to new model their Army, which they would do with great Policy, by Degrees, that the less Notice might be taken

of it. In order to this, they first made a Self-denying Ordinance (as they called it) that after such a prefixed Time (which was then declared) no Member of either House of Parliament should enjoy any Office either Civil or Military.

The Winter following this Year, General Goring was quartered at *Bruton* in *Somersetshire*, at Sir *Charles Berkeley's*, a great inclosed Country, where the Villages were thick, and great Store of Forage for Horse. Sir *William Waller* was then quartered at *Salisbury* in *Wiltshire*, where the Villages are thin, standing only in the Valleys, some Distance from each other. General Goring taking this Advantage, sent out Parties, almost every Night, to beat up the Enemy's Quarters in *Wiltshire*, which was done with such good Success, that in a short time we took many Prisoners and Colours, which occasioned *Waller* to write this ensuing Letter to General Goring. Noble Lord, God's Blessing be on your Heart, you are the jolliest Neighbour I have ever met with: I wish for nothing more, but an Opportunity to let you know, I would not be behind in this kind of Courtesy. In the mean time, if your Lordship please to release such Prisoners as you have of mine, for the like Number and Quality that I have of yours, I shall esteem it as a great Civility, being your Lordship's most Humble and Obedient Servant,

William Waller.

This

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This Letter was brought by a Trumpeter, who had been often with us, and was well known to us, and was a good pleasant Droll; and whilst we were at Dinner in the General's Quarters, a Party of Horse returned, with five Colours, and several Prisoners of Collonel Popham's Regiment, whose Quarters were beaten up the Night before. Upon this the General sent for the Trumpeter into the Room, where we were at Dinner, to shew him the Colours, and the principal Prisoners: Whereupon the Trumpeter pressed his Excellency to dispatch him back with his Answer, fearing, if he should stay longer, that *Waller* himself might be taken, before he, the Trumpeter, could reach *Salisbury*; and so he was dispatched with this Answer from the General: *That if Sir William Waller had Authority, and could nominate two Officers of Quality, of his Army, to meet two Officers of the like Quality, of General Goring's Army, at any convenient Place between both Armies, they should be empowered to exchange all Prisoners on both Sides, of equal Quality, from the Lands-End in Cornwall, to Portsmouth in Hampshire: Which Sir William Waller willingly accepted, and accordingly named Collonel Ennis, his Adjutant General, and Major Butler, who was Major to Waller's own Regiment, and desired Shaftsbury might be the Place of Meeting. To this the General willingly consented, and sent a Pass by the same Trumpeter, for the Persons named by Sir William Waller, and at the same time nominated me with Sir Bernard Gascoigne, Ma-*
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jor to his own Regiment, Commissioners from
 his Excellency: And accordingly a Pass was
 sent us forthwith from Sir *William Waller*, and
 the Time appointed for our Meeting at *Shafts-
 bury*, to which Place we all came the same Day
 with our Servants, and Trumpeters with each.
 The Country People believing we were appoint-
 ed to make a Peace, flocked in great Numbers
 to *Shaftsbury*, where we stayed fifteen Days,
 to release all Prisoners of Quality on both Sides,
 from the *Lands-End* in the West, to *Portsmouth*.
 Sir *William Waller* sent us a great Present of
 Wines, which came from *London*, believing
 we could have none such elsewhere. We then
 appointed all our Prisoners to be brought to
Wareham in *Dorsetshire*, and all the Prisoners
 of the Parliament's Side, to be brought to *Christ-
 Church* in *Hampshire*; and Sir *Bernard Gascoigne*
 went to *Wareham*, to receive our Prisoners, and
 Major *Rutler* went to *Christ-Church*, to receive
 the Parliament's. Collonel *Ennis* returned to
Salisbury, and I came back to *Bruton*, to give
 the Generals an Account of what we had done.

Now, the King having often solicited the
 Parliament for Peace, even after both his
 Victories, at *Cropredy Bridge*, and in *Cornwal*,
 and the Parliament seeing the general In-
 clination of the People and City of *London*
 bend that way, that they might seem at least to
 have the same Desires for the Good of the Na-
 tion, (tho' it plainly appeared they otherwise
 intended) the Parliament, with the Consent of
 the Commissioners for *Scotland*, present some
 Propo-

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Propositions to the King, which they desire may be treated on at *Uxbridge*: To which Treaty the King soon agreed, when it was well known the Parliament never intended to come to an Agreement, by their most irrational and unjust Demands, which they knew, the King could neither in Reason, Honour, or Conscience, grant; and so the Treaty was soon broken, to the King's great Dissatisfaction, who then clearly saw, the Parliament was resolved to prosecute the War against him, to the last Extremity.

About this time, the great Designs against *Essex* began to appear, who was much suspected by those who designed to destroy both Government, Ministry, and Magistracy, and resolved to remove the Earl of *Essex* from his Command, and took Resolutions to put the Self-denying Ordinance in Execution: But *Essex*, *Manchester*, and *Denbigh*, forthwith surrendered their Commissions; the same did likewise the Earl of *Warwick*, their Admiral, they being all fully perswaded, by the Parliament's Proceeding, that they intended to perpetuate themselves, and the usurped Government of the three Nations, and to make themselves a free State, under a Presbyterian Government. But the Parliament were much mistaken in their Policy, and were soon deprived of their main Design, and quickly lost all that Dominion which they so eagerly desired, and so long gaped for, it being presently snatched out of their Hands, by the Independant Party, who were
newly

newly sprung up out of their own Bowels: For notwithstanding their Self-Denying Ordinance, *Cromwell* was dispensed with to hold his Command of Lieutenant General to Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who was made General of their new modelled Army, whose first Rendezvous was at *Windsor*, where they did their own Business, and quite ruined the King's.

The first Success by this new modelled Army was performed by *Cromwell*, who waisting the Country with a Body of Horse, fell unexpectedly upon a Party at *Islip Bridge*, commanded by the Earl of *Northampton*, who were defeated, and some Prisoners taken, and the Remainder pursued to *Bleckington House*, four Miles from *Oxford*, where Collonel *Windebank* was settled for some time, with a small Party of Horse and Foot. *Cromwell* presently summoned the House, which had only a Wall about it; the Governour forthwith surrendered it, and had Articles to retire to *Oxford*; where being called to a Council of War, he was condemned, and shot to Death, for delivering it so soon to a Party of Horse only, when he might have had speedy Assistance from *Oxford*, which was but four Miles from *Bleckington*.

About this time, General *Goring* was at the Siege of *Taunton*, of which he was in great Hopes soon to be Master, (at least he made us all believe so) when he received Letters from the King (some Days before his taking of *Leicester*) commanding him to quit the Siege of *Taunton*, and hasten to him with his Army, fearing

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fearing the Enemy would be too strong for him
To which I wrote the General's Answer to the
King, having kept the Copy of it, which was
to this Effect. *That he was certain, in few
Days, to be Master of Taunton, and should
leave that Country free from any Enemy, excep-
ting Lyme (which was then, and had been for
some Time blocked up;) whereas, if he should
leave the Siege, the Enemy would be Masters of
that Country; and therefore he most humbly
prayed the King, to forbear any Engagement,
and to be upon the Defensive, upon the River
of Trent, which he might very well do, till the
Siege of Taunton was ended, and then he
would bring his Army to serve the King to his
best Advantage; and he did again desire the King
to keep at a Distance, and not engage.* But the
taking of Leicester being a great Loss to the
Parliament, and of such Advantage to the King,
that his Majesty then wrote to the Queen, that
he might (without being too much sanguine) af-
firm, that, since the Rebellion began, his Affairs
were never in so hopeful a Way; and indeed the
Parliament was then likewise of the same Opi-
nion. But this Letter from the General being
intercepted by *Fairfax*, caused his sudden Ad-
vance from his Rendezvous at *Brickbill*, to send
in great Haste for *Cromwell*, who was gone into
the Isle of *Ely*, upon whose Return a Resolu-
tion was taken to engage the King forthwith to
Battle, before the Loss of *Taunton*, and that
General *Goring* should arrive with his Army.
Now, the King, not having Advice from Ge-
neral

neral *Goring*, by his Letter being intercepted, and both his and his Soldiers Spirits being much heightened by taking of *Leicester*, and the King hearing the Enemy was advancing towards him, a Council was forthwith called at Midnight, where it was resolved to give the Enemy Battle the next Day; to which the King then prepared, and had in all Appearance gained a Victory, if Prince *Rupert* (who was sometime before made Lieutenant General of all the King's Armies, in Place of the Earl of *Brentford*) had not, after his usual Manner, having defeated the Enemy's left Wing, pursued furiously so far, as to leave the Foot naked, who were severely fallen upon by the Enemy's Reserve of Horse, who had put them in great Disorder, and the whole Army was almost totally broken, before the Prince came back to to their Relief, tho' the King in Person (to the great Hazard of his Life) did all that possibly could be done by Valour, in rallying his Horse, and endeavouring to maintain the Battle; but seeing all lost, the King was forced to fly towards *Leicester*, for his own Safety, leaving the Enemy wholly Masters of the Field. The Loss of all was Prince *Rupert's* pursuing the Horse, which he had beaten, whose natural Heat and Impatience was such, that he could not endure the Enemy in View, nor would he believe the Enemy had Courage to endure his Charge; and thus the Army was engaged, before the Cannon was turned, or the Ground made choice of, upon which they were to fight:
So

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So that Courage was only to be relied on, where all Conduct failed. However, if the King had then gone directly into the West, where he had an Army ready formed, and People generally devoted to his Service, instead of amusing himself about forming a new Army in Countries worn out with the Oppression of his own Troops, and the Licence of their Governours, he might have given the Enemy a great Interruption, if not restored his Affairs. Thus this fatal Battle of *Naseby*, fought the 14th of *June*, proved the entire Ruine of all the King's Affairs. The King, after this Battle, fled from Place to Place, not well knowing which Way to turn himself: At last he came to *Newark*, where he received a new Mortification from his Subjects then in Arms for him, much sharper than any he had received from the Enemy, which he suffered with more Grief and Perplexity of Mind. Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice*, after the Loss of the West and *Bristol*, were at *Belvoir* Castle, where the King commanded them to stay, and not to follow him to *Newark*; but, contrary to the King's Commands, they both came thither, and Prince *Rupert* told his Majesty, he was come to give an Account of the Loss of *Bristol*, and to clear himself from those Imputations that had been cast upon him for the Surrender of that Place. Tho' the King was displeased with the Prince's coming thither, contrary to his Orders, he was yet resolved to hear Prince *Rupert*'s Defence, who had promised the King to hold *Bristol* at least four Months, and

and yet gave it up almost in as few Days: And he told Prince *Rupert*, that he did really believe, the Prince had no Design against his Service, and that he would command a Declaration to be drawn up, by which the Prince should be absolved from any Disloyalty, either in that, or any other Action of the War; but that in Truth he could not absolve him of Indiscretion in the Delivery of *Bristol*. The King resolved to retreat from *Newark* towards *Oxford*, because the Enemy were on the North Side of *Trent*, but he imparted his Resolution to none; except to two or three of the nearest Trust about him; and finding great Differences grow betwixt Sir *Richard Willis*, the Governour, and the Gentlemen of the Country, who were firm to him, and whose Interest alone had preserved that Place; and finding no Way to preserve that Garrison, but by Removal of the Governour, he sent for him into his Bed-chamber, and after many gracious Expressions of the Satisfaction he had received in his Service, he told him, his Design was to go that Night, and to take him with him, and to make him Captain of his Guards, in Place of the Earl of *Litchfield*, who was lately killed near *Chester*, and would leave Collonel *Bellasis* Governour there, who being allied to most of the Gentry of the adjacent Counties, would be more acceptable to them; and that he could not give a more ample Justification of his Services, and of his Satisfaction in them, than by the Honour and Trust he conferred upon him. Sir *Richard Willis* appeared

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appeared much troubled, and excused his taking the other Command, as a Place of too great Honour, and that his Fortune could not maintain him in that Employment, and said, his Enemies would triumph in his Removal. The King told him, he would take Care and provide for his Support, and so went out of his Chamber to Church; and after his Return, being at Dinner, Prince *Rupert*, Prince *Maurice*, Lord *Gerard*, and Sir *Richard Willis*, with about Twenty Officers of the Garrison, came into the Presence-Chamber, where Sir *Richard Willis* addressed himself to the King, and told him, it was the publick Talk of the Town, that he was disgraced, and turned out from his Government; and Prince *Rupert* added, Sir *Richard Willis* was to be removed from his Government, for no other Fault, but for being his Friend. The Lord *Gerard* said, it was a Plot of the Lord *Digby*, who was a Traitor, and he would prove him to be so. The King was so much surprized at these extravagant and insolent Discourses, that he rose from Dinner in great Disorder, and retiring into his Bed-chamber, he called Sir *Richard Willis* to follow him, who answered loudly, that he had received a publick Injury, and expected a publick Satisfaction. This so provoked his Majesty, that, with much greater Indignation than ever he was seen possessed with, he commanded them to depart his Presence, and to come no more into it; and this with such Circumstances in his Looks and Gesture, as well as Words, that

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they appeared no less confounded, and departed the Room, ashamed of what they had done: Yet so soon as they came to the Governour's House, they sounded to Horse, intending to be presently gone; but soon after they sent to the King for Passes, who gave them such as they desired, and sent them, and declared Collonel *Bellasis* Governour of *Newark*, but forgot at the same time to have hanged up *Sir Richard Willis*, for his insolent Carriage towards his Sovereign.

After this the King went to *Oxford*, sent several Messages for Peace, and for a present Treaty; that he would come to *London*, and put himself into their Hands: But nothing would be accepted. And tho' he tried to deal with the Independants, yet it was in vain; the King's ill Success run on in a continued Series, in this Year 1645, he lost more in three Months than he had gotten before in three Years. The *French* seemed glad of these Disorders amongst us, Cardinal *Richlieu* having had an implacable Malice and Hatred to *England*, ever since the Isle of *Rhee* Voyage, and the declared Protection of *Rochel* against the King; and he being now dead, and Cardinal *Mazarin* in his Place, an *Italian*, who seemed very kind to the Queen, but yet gave very little and ordinary Supplies, that he might a little continue the Struggle; but he was more solicitous to keep a good Correspondence with the Parliament, and to profess a Neutrality betwixt the King and the Parliament, by means of *Don Alonzo de Cardinas*, the

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the *Spanish* Ambassador, who made all his Ad-
dresses to the Parliament. But that which put
a Period to all our King's Hopes, was the De-
feating the Lord *Astley* near *Stow in the Wold*,
who was taken Prisoner with several other Offi-
cers, and were all either killed or dispersed; as
they were coming from *Worcester* to *Oxford*,
which hindred the King from drawing any
other Troops into the Field; and being now in
the Ebb of his good Fortunes, he thought it in
vain to expect a Treaty with his Parliament,
who, in the Height of his good Success, would
listen to no Reason: Yet, to satisfy his Friends,
who were generally inclined to Peace, he sent a
Message to his Parliament, full of tender Ex-
pressions, setting forth his deep Sense of the
Nation's Miseries, by these civil Distractions
amongst them, and conjured them, as they
would answer it to Almighty God, in that Day
when he should make Inquisition for Blood,
which had, or might be spilt, in that unnatu-
ral War; and as they tendred the Preservation
of their Religion, by all the Bonds of Duty
and Allegiance to their King, of Compassion for
their bleeding Country, or Charity to them-
selves, to dispose their Hearts to a true Sense,
and to employ their Faculties to a more serious
Endeavour, together with his Majesty, to put
a speedy End to these wasting Divisions, and to
make both King and People happy. But this
Message produced nothing, but much more in-
solent Propositions than those at *Uxbridge*; and
it was in vain for the King to expostulate with
K 2 them

them who were resolved not to give him any reasonable Satisfaction: And tho' the House of Lords was willing to correspond with the King's Desires, yet they were over-ruled and curbed by the Commons, the Lords then standing but as Cyphers, and were forced by the Commons into a Compliance, in whatever they desired or determined; and if the Lords dissented to any Particular, they would do it without them, the active Commons doing all things at their Pleasure: Which did sufficiently demonstrate, that they had no Intention to come to any Agreement of Peace, but to pursue their Designs to the uttermost Round of the Ladder; and having once drawn their Swords against their lawful Prince, to throw away the Scabbard, knowing their Crimes could not be safe, but by attempting greater: And tho' the Design was hatched in the House of Commons, for the Extirpation of Monarchy, yet I really believe the tenth Part of them never knew, nor thought, that the Business would go so far, as at last it did, they looking no farther than the bare Outside of Things, which carried a fair Shew and Gloss, to fight for King and Parliament, and were insensibly drawn in by the Insinuation of the prevailing Party.

The King found all his Endeavours for Peace signified nothing, that the Commons were resolved upon his Ruine, and that nothing would serve but his Submission to all they demanded, against which he was absolutely resolved, it being his Obligation in Honour and Conscience,

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not to abandon a just Cause, nor injure his Successor, nor forsake his Friends; and therefore expected no other Success, but to end his Days with Honour and a good Conscience, and did seriously avow, as appeared by his Letter to Prince *Rupert*, wherein he freely told the Prince, that those who would stay with him, were to expect and resolve, either to die for a good Cause, or, which was worse, to live as miserable in maintaining it, as the Insolence of insulting Rebels could make them.

I must confess, I knew not General *Goring*, till he came to the King in *Cornwal*, after the Battle of *Marston-Moor*, but I have heard great Reflections made upon his Conduct in the Business of *Portsmouth*, of which he was Governor in the Beginning of the War; and most wondered why the King would employ him, being made General of all the Horse in *England*, and Generalissimo in the West, both of Horse and Foot. But I believe he had done some extraordinary Service for our King in *France*, before he came over with the Queen; and I have been informed from good Hands, that he did not only procure great Store of Arms and Ammunition, but furnished the Queen also with a considerable Sum of Money, which he got by his Dexterity and Cunning; which prevailed so much with the King, that, by the Queen's Intercession, he gave him those great Commands, which made a mighty Noise in the Army, and gave great Discontent to many. As to his Person, I had as much Reason to know

him as any, and was always entrusted with his most secret Dispatches; and tho' I know his Memory remains blasted upon several Occasions, yet I cannot but do him this Right, which common Honesty obliges me to say of him: That he was a Person of extraordinary Abilities, as well as Courage, and was, without Dispute, as good an Officer as any served the King, and the most dexterous, in any sudden Emergency, that I have ever seen, and could extricate himself with the least Concern, of which I was a particular Eye-Witness upon several Occasions in the Siege of *Taunton*, where Collonel *Blague* the then Governour made many sharp and unexpected Sallies; but he was still repulsed and beaten back with Loss, by the Courage and Dexterity of General *Goring*, without which that Siege had been soon raised. But after all that can be said in General *Goring's* Behalf, he had likewise his blind Side, for he strangely loved the Bottle, was much given to his Pleasures, and a great Debauchee; and the great Misfortune was, when he commanded in chief in the West of *England*, his Excellency had two Companions, who commanded next under him, who fed his wild Humour and Debauch, and one of them, if not both, wanted his great and natural Courage. These two Commanders, the one being Lieutenant General, made the General turn his Wantonness into Riot, and his Riot into Madness: So that if the King had been truly informed of their continued strange Debauches, his Majesty would either have removed

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moved them from him, or all Three from future Trust or Employment: For when Princes give way to the Vices of their Commanders, tho' they be never so brave Men, they seldom recompense their Neglects by any future Diligence; for they must stand in Awe of the Prince they serve, or else the Prince must be Servant to their Humour.

Whilst the Siege of *Taunton* continued, I confess Lieutenant General *Porter* had several Conferences with the Officers of the Rebels that were then in that Garrison, to the great Scandal of many, who knew not what Interpretation to make of it; but this being often practised among the Chiefs of the Army, much Notice was not taken of it. About this time General *Goring* seemed something discontented with the Prince's Council; whereupon Sir *John Berkeley*, Sir *Hugh Pollard*, and Collonel *Asbburnham*, were sent to confer with General *Goring*, to know particularly what he desired. Their Conference was kept very private; however, I was informed, that the General carried himself very extravagantly, and that they could not satisfy him. Sir *Thomas Fairfax* being then coming into the West against General *Goring*, the Prince of *Wales* recommended to him the Garrison of *Langport*, as being of great Importance for the Security of *Bridgwater*: But General *Goring*'s Troops being quartered about *Langport*, took away the Contribution assigned for the Support of it, to supply his own Army, which brought the Garrison so low, that when

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it might have been very advantageous to our Army, it had very little or no Provision in it. And then, to add to our Misery, the Clubmen in *Dorset* and *Somersetshire* began to rise, and sent Complaints to the Prince of *Wales*, of the great Oppressions and Disorders committed by our Army, which the Prince promised to reform, and went to General *Goring* about it, setting forth the great Danger the Country was in, by the Liberty his Troops took to themselves. But the General having no Money to give the Army, connived at the Licence they took, and, at the same time, to shew his Popularity, sided in many things with the Clubmen, who in the End did us as much Mischief as the Power of the Rebels, who, about that time, being towards the Month of *July*, entered *Somersetshire*, and being suppressed, and agreed with Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, he besieged and took *Sherborn* Castle, which was well defended by Sir *Lewis Dives*, who was there taken Prisoner, with Collonel *Strangeways* and several others. After the taking of *Sherborn*, the Parliament Army advanced towards General *Goring*, who was encamped about *Langport*, which, by reason of the River on the one Side, and the great Marsh or Bogg betwixt that and *Bridgwater*, was esteemed a strong Post, and likewise to make a good Retreat, in Case we were beaten. The Day before we engaged, the General sent Lieutenant General *Porter*, with three Brigades of Horse, on the other Side the River, farther from the Enemy than we were, and in a Race

Campagne,

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Campagne, who had his Quarters beaten up at Noon Day, by General *Massey*, for want of Scouts being out, the Lieutenant General being then in his utmost Debauches with some of his Officers. The Enemy was seen coming from the Hills a Mile before them, and yet was upon our Men, before they could get to their Horses, who were feeding in the Meadows. The Alarm being brought to General *Goring*, he immediately marched in Person to his Succour, rallied the Horse that were flying, stopp'd the Enemy's Carreer, who were eagerly pursuing, and made a handsome Retreat, without which the best Part of our Army had been lost that Day; and when our General met Lieutenant General *Porter* in the Rear flying with the rest, his Excellency turned to me, and said, *He deserves to be pistoll'd for his Negligence or Cowardice*; but being the General's Brother-in-Law, that Fault was soon forgotten and pardoned: And yet I have often heard the General say, *That his Brother-in-Law, Lieutenant General Porter, was the best Company, but the worst Officer, that ever served the King.*

After this Beating up of Lieutenant General *Porter's* Quarters, *Fairfax*, with his Army, marched directly to us from *Evil*, where, being a plain and rising Ground, the Enemy's Army was drawn up upon it, with a great Marsh and Bogg between both Armies, which hindred the Enemy from attacking us, except by one Passage in the Bottom of the Hill, between both Armies, which Passage was narrow, and
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our General had placed there two Regiments of Foot to guard that Passage; which were Colonel *Slaughter's* and Collonel *Wise's* Regiments, lately raised in South *Wales*. General *Goring* himself, with all his Horse, was drawn up upon the Hill, at the Mouth of the Passage, with the Infantry upon his right Hand, near *Langport*, to succour those two Regiments, in case of Attack upon the Pass, which the General hoped to make good, at least till Night, that then we might retire with less Loss, being unseen. In the mean time, General *Goring* commanded me to send away all the Baggage and Cannon, except two Field Pieces, which he commanded should be drawn to the Top of the Hill, at the Head of the Pass, and bid me to order Sir *Joseph Wagstaffe* from him, who commanded the Foot near to *Langport*, that in case the Enemy should force the Pass upon him, that then Sir *Joseph Wagstaffe* should retire with all his Foot to *Langport*, and there pass the River towards *Bridgwater*, and burn down the Bridge behind him, which was a Draw-bridge over the River; and, in the Morning, when I had Orders to send away the Baggage and Cannon, I sent them that Way, for their greater Security, otherwise they had been all lost; for we were in Hopes to keep that Pass till Night: Yet so soon as the Enemy had put their Army in Order of Battle, upon the Top of the Hill, on the other Side the Bogg, which we thought was their whole Army, they opened and drew to their Right and Left, advancing towards

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towards the Pass, whilst another great Body came up in their Place, by which their Army was more than double our Number. However, our General neither lost his Courage nor Conduct, but still remained at the Head of the Pass, with his own Guards of Horse, commanded by Collonel *Patrick Barnwell*, a very brave *Irish* Gentleman, Son to the Lord *Barnwell*; next to him was the General's own Regiment of Horse, commanded by Collonel *Charles Goring*, his Excellency's Brother, who was also seconded by Sir *Arthur Slingsby*, with his Regiment of Horse, and the rest of the Horse Army behind him; but the Enemy advancing very fast down the Hill, with Horse, Foot, Dragoons and Cannon, much overpowered us in Number; and our Foot that were drawn down to guard the Pass not doing their Duty, many of them deserting, and shooting against us, the Enemy thereupon gained the Pass. The General charged the Enemy twice, but being much overpowered in Number, we were at last beaten off, and obliged to a very disorderly Retreat. The Foot, commanded by Major General *Wagstaffe*, retired to *Langport*; as did likewise the Lord *Wentworth*, and retreated over the Bridge that Way to *Bridgwater*, having broken and burnt down the Draw-bridge behind them: But our Horse were obliged to retreat the ordinary Way, which being a moorish Ground, full of several narrow Passes, where several Officers were obliged to stay, to make good the Retreat for others; so that divers of

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Distinction were taken, too many to be reckoned up, and among the Prisoners was Sir *Arthur Slingsby*, but Lieutenant General *Porter* escaped that Way, Room being made for him by other Officers. But our General, with his Brother, Mr. *Barnivell*, Sir *Bernard Gascoigne*, and my self, with some of our Retinue, were obliged to leave the Army upon our Left, to get over several difficult Places. However, we came at last safe to *Bridgwater*, tho' something about, and were in great Fear, that all our Foot and Cannon were lost; but it seems Sir *Joseph Wagstaffe* marched all Night, and came safe the next Morning to *Bridgwater*, and we lost only one Piece of Cannon that Way, because the Carriage of it was broke. I stayed all that Night with the General in his Chamber, and when I gave him Notice in the Morning, that Sir *Joseph Wagstaffe* was come with the Foot and the Cannon, he was overjoyed.

After we had reposed two Days at *Bridgwater*, and got together our shattered Troops, who all past thro' *Bridgwater* as fast as they came, for their greater Security, we then marched towards *Dunstar* Castle, which we left on our Right, and made little or no Stop till we came near *Torrington*, where our Army quartered, and the General made his Head Quarters at Mr. *Rolles's* House, where we stayed some Days, and then we marched towards *Barnstable*, and from thence to *Exeter*, where we stayed that Winter, with Four Thousand Horse, who quartered in the Country near us. Whilst
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we were about *Torrington*, the General sent the Lord *Wentworth* to the Prince of *Wales*, at *Launceston*, making great Complaints of his hard Usage, and made several Demands from the General, to which no Answer was given, because the Chancellor of the Exchequer was absent, being gone farther into *Cornwal* upon great Affairs of the Prince; and besides, the Prince intended, at the Chancellor's Return, to go to *Exeter*; and when the Prince came thither, General *Goring* was ill, and in a Course of Physick: Whereupon the Chancellor was sent to him, to whom, after many Assurances of continuing faithful to the King, and his Interest, he then freely declared his Apprehension of his Brother *Porter's* Negligence, or Treachery, in many particular Instances, and that he resolved to be quit of him. The Chancellor then told his Excellency freely, that his Demands by the Lord *Wentworth* to the Prince, were not seasonable for his Royal Highness to grant, nor fit for him to ask; and so the Chancellor left General *Goring*.

But I must not forget to tell, that whilst General *Goring*, Lord *Wentworth*, Lieutenant General *Porter*, and most of the General Officers, both Horse and Foot, kept their Winter Quarters in and about *Exeter*, the Death of Sir *John Digby* made vacant the Employment of a Major General of Horse to the Lord *Goring's* Army, for which there were several Pretendants, amongst which was Collonel *Samuel Tuke*, who being the eldest Collonel of

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Horse

Horse in our Army, stood fairest for it, especially being a Favourite to Lieutenant General *Porter*, and to Collonel *Charles Goring*, the General's Brother; and therefore made his first Address to the Lieutenant General, desiring his Assistance in his Pretensions; which being promised him by the Lieutenant General, he then applied himself to the Lord General *Goring*, who told him, he would willingly have served him, but that he was before engaged for Collonel *Webb*, by the Intercession of Lieutenant General *Porter*: At which Collonel *Tuke* being much surprized, he presently demanded the Lord General's Permission to quit his Command, declaring, that being the eldest Collonel in the Army, he thought it a Right belonging to him, and that he could not serve with Honour, since another was put over his Head. Hereupon the Lord General forthwith promised him his Discharge, and commanded his Secretary, *Dun*, to draw it. Upon this Information from the General himself, that he was engaged for Collonel *Webb*, upon the Solicitation of Lieutenant General *Porter*, Collonel *Tuke* wrote a very reproachful Letter to the Lieutenant General, which so soon as he received, he forthwith sent his Brother-in-Law, Collonel *Charles Goring* (for they were then both at Sir *William Portman's*, five Miles from *Exeter*) to desire Collonel *Tuke* to meet him at a Place he then appointed, to interpret his Letter; and Collonel *Goring* also told Collonel *Tuke*, that he must bring a Friend with him,

who

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who thereupon sent to Collonel *Adrian Scroop*, who promised to go with him the next Morning. But this Business was not carried so privately, but that it quickly came to the Lord General's Knowledge, who presently sent for me, and commanded me to set Guards immediately upon Collonel *Tuke*, and upon Collonel *Scroop*, and to require them, in his Excellency's Name, not to stir from their Lodgings till farther Orders. The Lord General was at this time indisposed with the Gout, and kept his Bed, but he presently sent for the Lord *Wentworth*, and desired him to call a Council of War the next Morning, of the principal Officers that were then Town, and that his Lordship would be President of it, for that there was a Quarrel, and a Duel designed, betwixt Lieutenant General *Porter* and Collonel *Tuke*: That this last was already secured in his Lodging, and also Collonel *Scroop*, who was to be his Second; and that he had sent for the Lieutenant General, and his Brother Collonel *Goring*, who was concerned in the Quarrel. The next Morning the Council of War met, where Lieutenant General *Porter* was present, and sat with the Council, which was composed of the Lord *Wentworth*, as President, Lieutenant General *Porter*, Major General *Wagstaffe*, Sir *William Courtney*, Sir *Foulk* and Sir *Henry Hunkes*, Sir *Thomas Bassett*, and my self. The first thing (after having read the Letter) upon Debate was, That the Letter was very reproachful and provoking: The Substance of the Letter was,

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That he (Collonel Tuke) would no more accuse Lieutenant General Porter of Cowardice, since he had fought, and killed a Collonel in Justification of his Honour; but that the Lieutenant General was guilty of many other Sins, which ran in the same Rank with Cowardice; as, in his Breach of Faith, having promised to assist him in his Pretentions to the General, when he had before ingaged the General to another: In his little or no Religion, in turning the Bible and all sacred things into Ridicule: In his great and constant Debaucheries, with many other Vices not fit to be named; and that now being upon even Terms with him, he could do no less than reproach him for his treacherous and unjust Dealing, in this Particular of his Pretentions, from the General's own Mouth; and that he should look upon him as his darling Sin, whom he had loved the longest, and had the most Reason to repent him of it.

After reading this Letter, which was much enlarged upon by the Lieutenant General, who declared, that tho' the Letter was not a formal Challenge, yet it was so provoking and reproachful, that no Man of Honour could receive it, without giving a Challenge to him that sent it; and that this was also from an inferior Officer to a superior, which was Death by the Articles of War. Hereupon arose a long Debate, after which the Council ordered, that I should go forthwith to the Lord General, to know from him, whether he had discharged Collonel Tuke from being an Officer in his Army? To which
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the General told me, *That he had discharged him, and promised him a formal Discharge in Writing, and commanded his Secretary to draw it up; and that if it was not done, it was the Fault of his Secretary; and that since he had discharged him by Word of Mouth, he esteemed him to be no longer an Officer.* Upon my delivering this Answer from the General, the Council left off that Point, of debating his being an Officer; but the Council thought fit a Writing should be drawn up, and presented to him, which he should read publickly in Council, which was done accordingly in these Words following. *I confess to have written a scandalous and injurious Letter to Lieutenant General Porter, for which I am heartily sorry, and so desire his Remission and Friendship.* This Writing being agreed upon by the Council, Colonel Tuke was called in to make this publick Acknowledgment; which Paper being given to Collonel Tuke, he having first read the Words privately to himself, he expressed himself in publick thus. *I confess to have written a Letter to Lieutenant General Porter; it was my Sense of him when I wrote it, which is still my Belief, and there is not a Syllable in it which I will not justify with my Life.* Upon this the Council commanded him to withdraw, and they began to be very sharp upon him, that he should make that publick Declaration, contrary to the Sentiment of the Council; and it was the Opinion of some, that he should be committed to Prison, till he should make that pub-

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lick Acknowledgment which the Council had ordered: But Sir *Foulk* and Sir *Henry Hunkes*, with Sir *Thomas Basset*, declared against it, and said, tho' he had spoken so publicly his Sense as to his own Letter, yet he had not refused *in terminis* to make the Acknowledgment; and that therefore, before they came to that Extremity, of committing him to Prison, one of the Council should be sent to him, to perswade him to make that publick Acknowledgment; and accordingly I was desired to go to him, which I did, and told him the Sense of the Council, and that it was their general Opinion, that he should not scruple of making that publick Acknowledgment, if he was called in again. And upon my Return to the Council, and declaring that I found him willing to make that Acknowledgment, he was called in again; and after his Respects made to the Lord *Wentworth* and the Council, he took the Paper in his Hand, and said, *In Obedience to the Order of your Lordship and this Council, I do confess to have written a scandalous and injurious Letter to Lieutenant General Porter, for which I am heartily sorry, and do desire his Remission and Friendship*; and then he retired. But then the Lieutenant General began to complain heavily, and said That was not a sufficient Satisfaction for the publick Scandal he had received, nor for the insolent Behaviour of Collonel *Tuke*, and he seemed nothing pleased or satisfied with what the Council had done, who thereupon broke up without farther Satisfaction.

Some

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Some time after this, Lieutenant General *Porter* came again to *Exeter*, before it was surrendered, and sent again to Collonel *Tuke* for farther Satisfaction; but the Collonel being then sick in Bed, was not able to meet him as he desired: However, Collonel *Tuke* did then write a Letter to him, assuring him, that so soon as he was able to get on Horseback, he would not fail to find him out, and give him the Satisfaction he desired, if the Fear of our sudden Ruine did not make him go to the Parliament sooner, which fell out as he foretold: For soon after this, Lieutenant General *Porter* made his Peace with General *Fairfax*, and went into the Parliament's Quarters, and Collonel *Tuke* never heard more of him, nor from him.

About this time the King sent to General *Goring*, to march to him with his Army; but the General neither obeyed the King's Orders, nor communicated them to the Prince, or advised with the Prince about them, tho' his Royal Highness then let him know, that he was well content he should break thro' to the King with his Horse, thinking he might well and easily have done it: But the General (after Recovery of his Health) spent his Time in his usual Jollities, and was privately resolved to leave the Army, and go beyond Sea; and Lieutenant General *Porter* was also resolved to quit the Army, and retire to *London*; but both these Transactions were carried very privately, and known to none but the Lord *Wentworth*, who

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went to the Prince with a Letter from General *Goring*, to beg Leave for his going into *France*, for Recovery of his Health, as he pretended; yet intimating at the same time to his Royal Highness, that he hoped to do him great Service by his going thither. But I was after assured by the Lord *Wentworth*, that he never attended the Prince's Resolution, but went forthwith to *Dartmouth*, and there embarked for *France*; but before his going, sign'd a Warrant for some Money for Lieutenant General *Porter*, to bear his Charges to *London*, who soon after the Lord *Goring*'s Absence, declined the Exercise of his Command, and having received a Pass from Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, he went forthwith to *London*.

Soon after the Lord *Goring*'s going for *France*, the Lord *Wentworth* declared, that General *Goring* intended to return no more, but relied upon his Lordship to preserve the Horse, till he could procure Licence from the Parliament to transport them for the Service of the King of *Spain*, or some other foreign Prince. But after General *Goring* left the Army, the Soldiers took a greater Liberty than before, and much resented his going away. From the Beginning of *July* till towards the End of *October*, the General stayed at *Exeter*; and Four Thousand Horse were quartered in that Neighbourhood, without making any Attempt upon the Enemy: And considering his doing nothing in all that time but pleasing himself, many were of Opinion, that if he had been confederate

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rate with the Enemy, and been corrupted to betray the West, he could not have done worse; not having obeyed the King's Commands in going to him, tho' his Royal Highness was willing to it. His Courage indeed was always esteemed, but least of all his Conscience and Integrity, and there was much Difference betwixt the Presentness of his Mind in a sudden Attempt, (tho' never so full of Danger) and of an Enterprize which required Deliberation and Patience, for he could not keep his Mind long bent; of which I had a particular Experience at his Siege of *Taunton*, where the Governour for the Parliament made many frequent and dangerous Sallies, but were always unsuccessful, by the Vivacity and Courage of General *Goring's* Spirit, which was very extraordinary.

After this General's going into *France*, his Army was solely left to the Disposition of the Lord *Wentworth*, who was a very lazy and unactive Man, and was not thought either of Interest, Experience, Courage, or Reputation enough, for that Trust which was devolved upon him by General *Goring*: It was therefore resolved by his Royal Highness, that he should rather be advised than commanded; and that if his Lordship comported himself with that Temper and Modesty which was expected from him, all Resolutions should be formed in the Prince's Council, and all Orders should issue in his Lordship's Name, for the Relief of *Exeter*; for all the Army of Horse was then drawn off from *Exeter*, and the Lord *Wentworth*

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was quartered at *Asbburton*, six Miles from *Totnes*, and the whole Contribution which was for Support of the Army, was taken forcibly by the Lord *Wentworth's* Horse. Whereupon the Prince, being then at *Totnes*, sent for the Lord *Wentworth*, who told the Prince in the first Place, that he was to declare to his Royal Highness, that he could receive no Orders from any Person but his Highness, the Lord *Goring* having reposed that Trust in him, and talked very imperiously and disrespectfully. However, the Prince took little Notice of it; but the next Day his Lordship being in Drink, which was his usual Fault, he talked very offensively to the Chancellor (whom he always hated) tho' of the Prince's Council, in Presence of the Prince, who being much dissatisfied with the Lord *Wentworth's* Carriage, told him, he would take the Command of the Army upon himself, and issue out the Orders as he should think fit; upon which the Lord *Wentworth* troubled, and much unsatisfied, returned to his Quarters at *Asbburton*, which were soon after beaten up by the Enemy at Noon Day, and the Army thereby put into great Disorder.

Upon this Incident the Lord *Wentworth* went in great Haste to the Prince, who was then at *Tavestock*, upon the Borders of *Cornwal*, and informed the Particulars of his Loss, which was not so great as his Lordship imagined. The Prince was very desirous to pursue his former Resolution of going to *Totnes* with the Body of his Army; but the Lord *Wentworth* told him, he believed

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the Enemy was possessed of *Totnes*, and that he could not so soon recover his Loss, nor get his Troops together in any considerable Number, till they had some Days Rest; and so that Design of the Prince was ended; whereas the Rout of the Army was occasioned only by small Parties of the Enemy, who came into our Quarters in the Daytime, and found no Guards, and all their Horses in the Stables. Hereupon his Royal Highness thought fit to go to *Launceston*, upon the Borders of *Cornwal*, to be farther from the Enemy, and commanded the Lord *Wentworth*, that all his Horse should be quartered on *Devonshire* Side, fearing otherwise, that all the Trained Bands of *Cornwal* would run Home to save their Houses from being plundered, to which the Lord *Wentworth's* Troops were much addicted, who dispersed themselves for many Miles about the Country, as if no Enemy was near them, and were all commanded by Lord *Wentworth*, who challenged them by Deputation from the Lord General *Goring*; and the Lord *Wentworth* would submit to no other Command but that of the Prince. The Mischief which grew hereupon was much more visible than the Remedy, when both Officers and Soldiers (by the Looseness and Extravagancy of the Lord *Wentworth's* Government) were glad to take any Occasion of Excuse for laying down their Arms: And whoever was fit would hardly undertake the Command of a dissolute, undisciplined, wicked, beaten Army, upon which he must engage his Honour. Howe-

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ver, some Resolution was absolutely necessary in that Conjuncture to be taken by the Prince, who thereupon declared the Lord *Hopton* should take upon him the Care of the whole Army, as being General, and the Lord *Wentworth* should be General of the Horse, and Collonel *Webb* Major General, and Sir *Richard Greenville* General of the Foot.

The Lord *Hopton* being entirely devoted to the King's Interest, submitted to the Pleasure of the Prince, and told his Royal Highness he would obey him, tho' he knew he must lose his Honour; But since his Royal Highness thought it necessary to command him, he was most ready and willing to obey. There was no Suspicion of Sir *Richard Greenville*, because he had been before under the Command of the Lord *Hopton*; but it was believed the Lord *Wentworth* (who had carried himself more high and imperiously since his disorderly Retreat from *Ashburton*, than before) would have refused; in which Case the Prince resolved to commit the Lord *Wentworth*, and would have given his Command to the Lord *Capel*: But much contrary to Expectation, Sir *Richard Greenville* refused, who was thereupon forthwith sent Prisoner to the *Mount* in *Cornwall*, where he was, till the Enemy possessed the greatest Part of that County; and then, that he might not fall into the Hands of the Enemy, the Prince permitted his being transported beyond Sea. And tho' the Lord *Wentworth* seemed much surprised with the Prince's Order, which he heard

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read at the Council Table, desired time to consider of it till the next Day, that he might confer with his Officers; yet the Prince told him sharply, that he would not refer his Acts to be scanned by his Officers, but that his Lordship should presently give his positive Answer, whether he would submit, or not? To which he submitted, and went that Night to his Quarters; at which neither the Prince, nor his Council, nor others, were very glad, but rather wished he would have obliged the Prince to make other Alterations, as the Prince intended, because he knew the Lord *Wentworth's* Humour, that he would never chearfully obey.

The Prince then hearing of the Loss of *Dartmouth*, and every Day was News, and fearing the Loss of *Exeter*, it was thought fit the Lord *Hopton* should march back with his Army towards *Torrington*, and that the Prince should not hazard his Person any longer in that open Country, but should retire to *Truro*, near the nether End of *Cornwal*, for his greater Security.

Fairfax having taken *Dartmouth* by Storm, the Governour soon surrendered the Castle. He then came to *Exeter*, which he summoned, but having received a stout Answer from Sir *John Berkeley* the Governour, he left Sir *Hardress Waller* to finish that Work, and went with his Army after the Lord *Hopton*, who had fixed himself near *Torrington*, and had not been there above four or five Days, where he had made some Barricadoes and little Fastnesses, but he heard that General *Fairfax* was come within
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eight Miles of him. However, the Lord *Hopton*, for good Reasons, thought it better to expect the Enemy there, than to retire into *Cornwal*, with the few that remained of the Trained Bands, who would immediately dissolve, and run to their Houses, and all would soon be destroyed without Fighting; and therefore his Lordship chose rather staying where he was, notwithstanding the great Disadvantage in Number, thinking he might there defend himself with greater Advantage, than in any other Place. Very sharp Disputes were on both Sides, and the Lord *Hopton's* Foot behaved themselves with such Courage, that they maintained the Fight all that Day till Night, retiring still towards *Torrington*; but at last, being overpowered by the Numbers of the Enemy, who were supplied from time to time with fresh Troops, they forced the Barricades, the Horse with his Lordship neither charging nor making a Stand, but basely ran away in great Confusion, leaving their General, the Lord *Hopton*, who was hurt in the Face with a Pike, and his Horse killed under him; but receiving a fresh Horse, he was obliged to retire to *Stratton*, where he stayed some Days, till Twelve Hundred of his Foot came up to him. Upon his Lordship's retiring, the Enemy entered *Torrington*, and fell to Pillaging and Plundering the whole Town extreamly, but were soon stopt, by the Ammunition in the Church taking Fire, by what Accident was unknown, but it brought a dismal Destruction both upon the

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the Soldiers and Burghers, there being near an Hundred Barrells of Powder in the Church, which made a terrible *Fracas* amongst all People; which being finished, and General *Fairfax* having a little settled *Torrington*, he marched after the Lord *Hopton* to *Stratton*, whereupon his Lordship retired farther to *Bodmin*, and those Horse commanded by the Lord *Wentworth* observed no Orders. The Prince went from *Truro* to *Pendennis* Castle, and the Lord *Hopton* and the Lord *Capel* advertized his Royal Highness, that they had severally received Intelligence of a Design to seize upon the Person of the Prince, who thereupon returned no more to *Truro*, but stayed at *Pendennis* Castle, and no Person knew the King's Pleasure concerning the Prince, but the Lord *Culpepper* and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and they two knowing only what was to be done, had no great Confidence that they should have Reputation enough to go thro' with it, finding the Earl of *Berkshire*, who was then Governour to the Prince, jealous of the Design of going into *France*, whatever they said to the contrary, and the Governour of *Pendennis* Castle being old and fearful, they durst not trust him with the Secret: Whereupon they sent Letters forthwith to the Lords *Hopton* and *Capel*, to know their Opinion, who both agreed, that the Prince was immediately, without Loss of Time, to be transported to *Scilly*, which was a Part of *Cornwal*; and News being daily brought, that our Army was still retiring, and

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General *Fairfax* advancing after it, Resolution was therefore taken, that the Prince should that Night embark for *Scilly*, a Ship being ready for him then in the Harbour; and the Governor and his Son (who was a worthy honest Gentleman) were called in to the Prince's Chamber, and made acquainted with it; and that Night the Prince went on Board, and arrived the next Night safe in *Scilly*; from whence the Lord *Culpepper* was immediately dispatched to *France*, to acquaint the Queen with the Arrival of the Prince in that Island, and with the Wants and Incommodities of it, and that it was not so strong as reported; and therefore his Royal Highness was soon embarked from thence for *France*, where they all safely arrived.

When the Prince was gone, and the Lord *Hopton* left General in *Cornwal*, he soon found the Soldiers, especially the Horse, could not be restrained from Plundering, and thereupon his Excellency called a Council of War, to consider what was to be done. The Lord *Wentworth*, with the principal Officers, declared, that the Men would never be brought to fight, being taken in a worse Trap, than they took *Essex's* Army near *Foy*, and the Horse Officers proposed to send for a Treaty, to which they all agreed, except Major General *Webb*. The Lord *Hopton* told them, he could not consent to a Treaty, without Leave from the Prince. But whilst the Officers continued their Importunity, a Trumpeter arrived at the same time from

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from General *Fairfax*, with a Letter to the Lord *Hopton*, offering a Treaty, which his Lordship kept private: However, the General Officers all assembled, and declared, if the Lord *Hopton* would not consent to a Treaty, they would treat themselves; and that in the *Interim* they would neither keep Guards, nor do their Duty, the Enemy's Horse every Day mingling with them, without any Act of Hostility, and bought several of our Soldiers Horses. Then the Lord *Hopton* declared, that he would neither treat for himself, nor for any of the Garrisons, and gave the Horse Leave to treat. Whereupon some Persons were presently appointed, and Articles were soon concluded, and the Army of Horse was dissolved; and every Horseman who had not sold his Horse, had Twenty Shillings, with a Passport from General *Fairfax*, to go home to their Houses, and there to live quietly, without engaging farther in the Wars; and many of our Soldiers had sold and exchanged so many good Horses, for pitiful Jades they received from the Enemy, that they would not give Twenty Shillings apiece for them; and so many Hundred of Soldiers went Home on Horseback, with their Passes from the General, that the Lord *Hopton* was obliged to treat with the Enemy, tho' he would have no Article for himself, nor be mentioned in the Treaty: After which, his Lordship, with the Lord *Wentworth*, Lord *Capel*, and Major General *Webb*, went to the Mount in *Cornwal*, from whence they were transported

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ted to *Scilly*, and from thence were embarked for *France*.

The King being now reduced to the lowest Condition that possibly could be, having lost all his Forces, most of his Garrisons taken and yielded, and General *Fairfax* having cleared the West, was marching to besiege *Oxford*. The King being there, began to think of some Way for his Escape and Safety; and being treacherously invited by the *Scots*, to put himself under the Protection of their Army then at the Siege of *Newark*, his Majesty went disguised from *Oxford*, in April 1646, accompanied only with Mr. *John Ashburnham*, a Groom of his Bed-chamber, and Mr. *Hudson* a Minister, few or none else being acquainted with his Design; but all were amazed, when they heard he was arrived in the *Scotch* Camp, he having been before-hand promised Security for himself, and those he brought with him, or that should come to him, tho' they denied both in Word and Act, as plainly appeared by their delivering him to the Parliament, a Prisoner, for Two Hundred Thousand Pounds *Sterling*: And that the *Scots* may be the better known, I shall give you their Character by one who was well acquainted with their wicked Principles. He tells us, *They are a People who delight to enslave others, yet are of a slavish Condition themselves; a People, whose Freedom is Service, whose Mercies are Cruelties, whose Religion is only Formality, whose Government is Tyranny, a Generation of Vipers and Hypocrites,*

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cries, whom no Oaths or Covenants can bind, no Courtesy or Civility oblige. Thus the King was delivered Prisoner to the Parliament by the Scots, and by the Parliament sent Prisoner to *Holmby*; and from thence he was soon after forcibly taken away, and carried to the Army, by Cornet *Joyce*; who being asked by the Parliament Commissioners, who then waited upon the King, by what Authority he did it? He answered, it was by the Pleasure of the Army, and that the King should be with them with Honour, and in Safety. This Action startled the Parliament extreamly, who from this time began to surrender themselves and their Power into the Hands of their own Army. The General, in his Letter to the Parliament, makes the King's Remove from *Holmby* to be by his own Consent; tho' certainly it was not so, tho' it might be without the General's Knowledge: And the Lord *Dumfermling* acquainted the Parliament, that the King commanded him to tell them, that his Majesty was unwillingly taken away, by a Party from the Army; and that he desired both Houses to maintain the Laws of the Land, and that he might be obliged to sign many things in that Condition, and that he would not have them be believed, till they had farther Notice from his Majesty.

Thus we see the Inconstancy of Men, and the Uncertainty of worldly Affairs. The Officers and Soldiers of an Army, tho' never so successful and well disciplined, will, for want of
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of Action, fall into Discord, and Designs of Trouble: A victorious Army out of Employment, is very inclinable to assume Power over their Leaders. When the Parliament had Conquest and Success after their own Desires, yet they were strangely encumbered with the Mutinery of their Army on the one Side, and with discontented Petitions on the other, besides the Petulancy of many Pamphlets, which daily flew abroad against their Proceedings. Many believed there was some private Treaty at this time by some Officers of the Army with the King, and that Instructions were given for it by *Cromwell*, that if the King would assent to their Proposals, which were much lower than those of the Parliament, the Army would then settle the King upon his Throne. The King, in his own Judgment, seemed inclined to it, and therefore disdained the Parliament's Propositions, and would rely upon the Proposals of the Army, and urged a Treaty upon them. The *Scots* complain of the King's being taken from *Holmby* by Force, and would not apply to the Army, since it ought to be under the Command of the Parliament: They declared, that their Stability and Happiness did much depend upon the Safety and Preservation of the King's Person, and that they would endeavour to compose the unhappy Differences; and therefore desire the Propositions may be proceeded upon by the mutual Consent of both Kingdoms, and desire there might be a present Treaty with the King, and that he might come to *London* with Safety,

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Safety, Honour, and Freedom. The King being then passionately sensible of the languishing and unsettled State of the Kingdom, and of their great Distractions, pressed earnestly for a Peace, and was most willing to testify to all the World his Readiness to contribute his utmost Endeavours for it: But the Parliament then thought the King was too much in the Army's Interest, who were then contriving their main Design, of coming up to *London*, to curb both Parliament and City, and to make them act according to their Prescriptions.

About this time the Agitators were set up, who were some Soldiers elected out of each Regiment of Horse and Foot, to meet and consult by that Name, who undertook to understand and regulate the chief Affairs of the Army. These Men were very busy, and the King was privately informed, whether by Design of the Army, was not known, but supposed by most to be so, that the Agitators intended some Violence to the King's sacred Person; and therefore the King was privately perswaded to make an Escape, if possible, and contrived by Sir *John Berkeley*, Collonel *Leg*, and Mr. *John Ashburnham*, who provided a Ship at *Southampton*, and Horses were to be ready at *Hampton Ferry*, on the other Side, for the King's Escape: And that which gave most Suspicion that the Army designed the King's Escape, was, that Collonel *Whaley* (who had the Guard of the King's Person) did that very Day give the King a Letter, which he said was put into his Hand

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by an unknown Person, giving a blind Account of the Agitators Intention to take away the King's Life for the Good of the Nation; and that very Night *Cromwell* sent a Letter to inform the Parliament that the King was escaped, the Manner thus.

The Officers who attended the King, wondering he came not forth of his Chamber to Supper, having been long in, writing, they went into his Chamber, and missed him, within half an Hour after he was gone; and his Cloak was carelessly cast upon the Ground, in his Way to the Water-side; and this following Letter was left upon the Table, written with his own Hand, to be communicated to the Parliament, in these Words following.

That Liberty the King now generally pretended to, and aimed at, was as necessary for Kings as any other: That he had a long Time endured Captivity, hoping it might tend to the Settlement of a good Peace; but finding the contrary, and the Unfixedness of the Army, and new Guards set upon him, he had withdrawn himself: That wherever he should be, he would earnestly labour for settling a good Peace, and to prevent the Effusion of more Blood; and if he might be heard with Freedom Honour, and Safety, he would instantly break through his Cloud of Retirement, and shew himself ready to be Pater Patriæ. Upon reading this Letter, and Cromwell's Information, it was ordered in Parliament, That it should be Loss of Life and Estate for any one to conceal or detain the
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King's Person, and not to discover it to both Houses of Parliament.

Upon the King's Escape the Parliament sent all Ways to find him; but in the dark, rainy, cloudy Night the King was lost in *Windsor* Forest, and passing in the Morning thro' *Farnham* to the Sea-side, his Majesty missed his Design of going to *Fersey*, the Ship failing to be at the Place, if any Place was really appointed which was promised; and the Want of it caused some Reflections upon the Undertaker, who was very well known to me. The King fearing a Discovery of him could by no Means be prevented, it was resolved, that the King and Collonel *Leg* should lodge that Night at *Tedsworth*, at the House of the Countess Dowager of *Southampton*, which was near the Sea; and that the other two should ferry over to the Isle of *Wight*, to find Collonel *Hammond*, under whose Assurance, for his Brother's sake, Dr. *Hammond*, the King hoped for some Friendship and Fidelity. This Design was accordingly put in Execution; and Sir *John Berkeley* and Mr. *Ashburnham* were both told by the King, that unless Collonel *Hammond* gave his Oath and Faith of Preservation, Protection, Secrecy, and Freedom to the King's Person at all Times, they should not discover any more, than signify in general the King's Escape from the imminent Danger of Assassination: That the King's Desire led him to cast himself upon Collonel *Hammond* for Protection, which if he should refuse, and secure the Persons of Sir

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John Berkeley and *Ashburnham*, the King and *Leg* (by their not returning at the Time prefixed) might have Opportunity to dispose of themselves otherwise. These two being dispatch'd, the King sent *Leg* to the Countess, to tell her, that a Person of Quality, her dear Friend, desired the Privacy of her House that Night, without Discovery; to which she readily consented. On Sunday Morning the two Messengers got into the Island, and met Collonel *Hammond* on his Way towards *Newport*, whom they acquainted with the Business. The Collonel told them, he wished the King's Safety as his own Soul, that he should not be inquisitive where the King was, but were he in his Custody, his Oath and Interest to the Parliament being in Ballance, he should be safe from Violence; but for the Freedom and Liberty of his Person, he could not answer it to his Superiours. This Answer tho' not satisfactory, nor according to their Commission; yet they, being loath to be taken into Custody, or for what other Reason none can tell, came over with the Collonel and a Guard to the House of the Countess; and *Ashburnham* went up Stairs to the King's Chamber, and told the King Collonel *Hammond* was below at Supper, and had given Assurance of Honour for his Majesty's Safety, but not of Liberty for his Person; which the King hearing, in Passion struck his Hand upon his Breast, and replied to *Ashburnham*; *And is this all? Then I am betrayed!* *Ashburnham* and *Berkeley*, sorry for their great Misadvisedness, would have made
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some desperate Attempt to have killed *Hammond*, which the King would not admit of; and in this Extremity, with a seeming Willingness, the King went over with them and with Collonel *Hammond* to *Carisbrook* Castle. Collonel *Hammond* immediately acquaints the Parliament with the King's being there, who forthwith vote the King should stay there; that none who had bore Arms against the Parliament should stay in the Island, excepting such Inhabitants as had compounded; that no Delinquent or Foreigner should be admitted to the King's Presence without Leave of Parliament; that those Persons who attended the King thither should be sent to the Parliament, which Collonel *Hammond* refused; and also complained, that the Conditions for the King were not suitable to his Quality. Thus that unhappy King fell out of one Trap into another; and sends his Message to the Parliament, why he did not receive their Propositions for Peace, which they sent him to *Hampton-Court*, because the Commissioners from *Scotland* presented him the same Day with a Declaration against those Propositions, in the Name of the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

Here we may take notice of the perplexed Condition of the Parliament; the Army raised, commissioned, and paid by them, making War against them, and with their Swords in Hand controul their Masters, and had a Design to carry away the King from the Isle of *Wight*, but were prevented by the General; the City, the Parliament's old Friends and Assistants,

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are averſe towards them, and queſtion their Integrity, reproach them, and would caſt them off; the King writes to the Parliament, and taxes them for not answering his laſt Meſſage, and earneſtly preſſes for a preſent Treaty, that Peace might be ſettled, and lays the Retarding it upon them: The *Scotch* Commiſſioners declare a joint Inter-eſt with the Parliament, for ſettling a Peace in both Kingdoms, proteſt againſt the four Bills ſent to the King, preſs for a preſent Treaty at *London*, ſaying, *Let that be given to God which is God's, and that to Cæſar which is Cæſar's*, and put them in Mind of their profeſſed Loyalty. Collonel *Hammond* has more ſtrict Orders to ſecure the King, and ſeveral of the King's Servants which attended him are diſcharged: Then the Parliament ſend Commiſſioners to the King, who return without Satisfaction; and after a long Debate, the prevailing Party in the Houſe of Commons vote no more Addreſſes to the King, and no Meſſage or Letters to be received from him; and that it ſhould be High Treason for any to deliver any Meſſage to the King, or receive any from him, without the Leave of both Houſes of Parliament; and Collonel *Hammond*, with Sir *William Conſtable*, had Orders to place and diſplace ſuch Perſons about the King as they thought fit, which highly diſcontented the King; but the Governour ſaid, he had Orders from the Parliament for it, whom he muſt obey.

Soon after this the General preſents an Addreſs to the Parliament, in the Name of the

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whole Army, that they would stand by the Parliament, in making no more Addresses to the King; and that they would intirely submit to the Government of the Parliament. Thus they are quickly made Friends again; and the Army had the Thanks of the Houses for their Address; who ordered the King's Household should be dissolved, and the Navy no longer be called the King's Navy: Whereupon the *Hollanders* (as they had Reason) refused to strike Sail, as being the elder State. Two Earls were named to go to *Scotland*, to acquaint that Kingdom with what the Parliament had done, and a Declaration was published for no more Addresses to the King, wherein all the Miscarriages of the Government were named, from the King's first coming to the Crown.

Thus the Parliament and Army were made Friends, and well fixed again, by the Cunning of of *Cromwell* and his Party; but then the Apprentices, with others in *London*, made an Insurrection against the Parliament and Army, and great Preparations were making in *Scotland* for a War, declaring they would rescue the King from Imprisonment, which was done contrary to the Resolution of both Kingdoms; and that the King might come to one of his own Houses near *London*, with Honour, Freedom, and Safety: And Information came from *Scotland*, that the King's Party there was very strong, and carried all, and that there would be a general Rising in that Kingdom, for Religion, King, and Church; and the Chancellor of *Scotland*, by Order of their Parliam-

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ment, demanded, that the King might come to some of his Courts near *London*, with Freedom, Honour, and Safety, and that a personal Treaty be had with his Majesty, and that the Independant Schismatick Army might be disbanded, which governed all as they pleased. Whereupon the Parliament returned Answer, That they would keep the Covenant and the Treaty between the two Kingdoms, and that they would be ready to join with *Scotland* in the Propositions presented to the King at *Newmarket*.

About this time, or a little before, the Duke of *York* made his Escape into *Holland*, and was very tenderly and kindly received by the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, at whose Escape the Parliament was very much troubled; and now Petitions came from several Parts of *England*, and Risings were in several Counties, and the People in general were weary of the War, and would have a personal Treaty with the King: And Risings were not only at Land, but Information came, that several Ships were revolted from *Rainsborough*, whom they had set on Shore, and sent for the Earl of *Warwick* to command them, who was thereupon declared Admiral. Thus a new War was begun, and great Divisions and Perplexities were in Parliament; and yet the Risings in several Parts for the King not being well concerted, were still quashed, and did only serve to unite the Party stronger against the King. However, the Parliament seeing that the People's Hearts were gene-

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generally set against them, and that the revolted Ships at *Deal* would not own them, finding their Backwardness for a personal Treaty with the King, and that the City of *London* and Officers of the Trained Bands, prayed the King might be brought to *London*, with Freedom, Honour, and Safety, to treat with the Parliament, and that the City would engage for the Security of his Majesty's Royal Person, and would also undertake to keep the Parliament safe from all Tumults and Mutinery, and that they would defend the King and Parliament in the Treaty, and defray the Charge of the Guards during the Treaty, and find a convenient Place for the Treaty; with many other Particulars: The Parliament hereupon began to think of a Treaty, and to set aside their Votes of Non-Addresses. In the mean time, these several Petitions for Peace encouraged the Duke of *Buckingham*, with his Brother, with the Earls of *Holland* and *Peterborough*, to a Rising about *Kingston*, where they were soon pursued, and the Earl of *Holland* (who had formerly had a great Hand in bringing Straits upon the King and Kingdom, in the Beginning of the War) now seeing the Parliament backward to a personal Treaty, hoped they should be able in the End to bring the Parliament to Reason: But the Parliament's Army being old Soldiers, prosperous in their Attempts, and well provided with all Necessaries, it was a desperate Attempt to make Head against them, without having before concerted all things well; which was a

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great Prejudice to the King's Affairs, there being small Trust to be given to People's Promises in such Occasions, who would not stir, unless they saw the Tide turning with some previous Success, which was at that time very unhappy to the King's Affairs in all Parts; tho' nothing could be more honourable, just, and pious, than to endeavour rescuing our Country from the Misery and Slavery it lay under; and our Sins were certainly the Cause it took Effect, joined with the Mismanagement of those who undertook it, without having first well concerted for the carrying on that Design: So that the Earl of *Holland's* Party was totally defeated, himself with many others taken Prisoners, and the Brother to the Duke of *Buckingham*, and others killed. Then Duke *Hamilton* enters *England* with an Army, and all joining with him are declared Rebels. Here is a strange Turn of Affairs, to which all human Actions are subject. Great Endeavours were formerly used, to bring in the *Scots* to assist the Parliament, and now they invade *England* with a considerable Army; they joined before with the Parliament against the King, and now they took with the King against the Parliament. The People of this World are like the Sea, still ebbing and flowing, always in an uncertain Motion, constant in nothing but Inconstancy.

The Prince of *Wales* and Duke of *York* did at this time come to *Parmouth* Road with divers Ships, and landed some Men, but were beaten by the Parliament's Horse, and several taken Prisoners.

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Prisoners; but the Town rescued them, and the rest of his Royal Highness's Men got into the Town. The Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* was on Ship-board, and commanded the Prince's Fleet, having quitted the Parliament, upon their declining a personal Treaty; and when the Earl of *Warwick* came near him with the Parliament Fleet, the Lord *Willoughby* was very earnest to have fought, upon Assurance that several in the Fleet would have revolted to his Royal Highness; but those that were about the Prince dissuaded him from Fighting, pretending great Danger to his Highness's Person, and so they carried it: Whereas, in all Probability, (as the Seamen's Affections then stood) the Parliament's Fleet would have been endangered. The Prince then stopped several Merchants Ships, and sent to the Merchants Adventurers at *London*, for Twenty Thousand Pounds *Sterling*, to release their Ships; and that he was come with that Fleet, to endeavour to release his Majesty from his Imprisonment.

The Parliament seeing the General Inclination of the People was for a Treaty, they fell from their Vote of Non-Addresses, and ordered a personal Treaty with the King in the Isle of *Wight*, with Honour, Freedom, and Safety, in what Place there his Majesty should appoint, who well approved of *Newport*, and received the Parliament Commissioners with much Cheerfulness, declaring, that no Man desired a Peace so much as he; and that he would hearken to any Motion that might conduce to so good an
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End, and that whoever gained by the Troubles, he was sure to be a Loser; and challenged all Men to produce the least Colour of Reason, that he was 'gainst the Treaty. He then said, if it was Peace they desired, he had shewed them the Way, by a just Compliance with all their Interests. If they desired Plenty and Happiness, they were the inseparable Effects of Peace. If it was Security, he offered the Militia for all his Time. If it was a Liberty of Conscience, he that wanted it most, was most willing to give it. If it was the right Administration of Justice, all Officers and Offices of Trust he left to the Choice of the Parliament. If they would have frequent Parliaments, he fully concurred therewith. If they demanded the Arrears of the Army which fought against him, he fully agreed they should be paid: So that all the World might see his unwearied Endeavours for Peace.

The Lords and Commons agreed, that the Vote against farther Addresses should be recalled: That the King had chosen *Newport* in the Isle of *Wight*, to treat with the Parliament's Commissioners, and all such Persons should be admitted, as his Majesty should think fit to send for: That Collonel *Hammond's* Instructions for keeping the King should be repealed, taking the King's own Engagement for his going abroad in the Island, and Horses, Coaches, and Money, both for the publick, and the King's private Use, were sent to the Isle of *Wight*, where the King kept a Fast for a Blessing upon the Treaty,

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Treaty, and agreed in every thing, except Religion, wherein he let the Commissioners know how far he could condescend. Some of the Commissioners then begged of the King upon their Knees, with Tears in their Eyes, as to the Proposition touching Religion, but Matter of Conscience prevailed more with the King than all their Arguments; of which they gave an Account to the Parliament, who thereupon voted, that the King's Concessions as to Religion, the Church, and *Ireland*, were unsatisfactory. However, the House of Commons voted, that a Committee should draw up something for the King's coming to *London*, with Instructions for the Terms of his Majesty's being in Freedom, Honour, and Safety: That the Committee should also consider of the King's Desires concerning his Revenues: That an Act of Oblivion should be presented to the King, to be passed with such Limitations as shall be agreed by both Houses. The House of Commons vote likewise, that the King should come to *London*, so soon as the Concessions in the Treaty were agreed, and that the King should have his Lands and Revenues made good to him, according to the Laws; and that what he should pass away of his legal Right, he should have Allowance in Compensation: And that an Act of Oblivion should be agreed upon. And both Houses agreed to all these Votes, and, in fine, the Parliament voted, that the King's Concessions to the Propositions of the Parliament upon the Treaty, were sufficient Grounds for settling the
Peace

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Peace of the Kingdom, and they named a Committee to go to the General and Head Quarters, to confer with the General and Officers of the Army, for the Continuance of a good Correspondence betwixt the Parliament and Army.

But whilst these things were doing, Collonel *Hammond* sends a Letter to the Parliament, with one inclosed from the General unto him, requiring him to repair to his Excellency at the Head Quarters, and that Collonel *Ewre* was appointed to take Charge of the King in the Isle of *Wight*. Hereupon the Commons voted, That Collonel *Hammond* should stay in the Isle of *Wight*, and continue his Charge, and that the Admiral should forthwith send Ships for Security of the Isle of *Wight*, and that they should obey Collonel *Hammond*: But a Messenger brought Word, that Collonel *Hammond* was upon his Way to *Windsor*, according to the General's Order, and that Collonel *Ewre* had secured his Majesty's Person, and removed him to *Hurst* Castle, a pitiful Place, and most pestilential Air. Hereupon the Parliament sent a Letter to the General, acquainting him, that those Orders and Instructions from him to Collonel *Ewre*, for securing the King's Person, were contrary to their Resolution, and fresh Instructions were sent again by the Parliament to Collonel *Hammond*, to return, and attend his Charge in the Isle of *Wight*; and that it was the Pleasure of the Parliament, that his Excellency should recal his Orders, and that Collonel *Hammond* should again attend his Charge;

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Charge; but Collonel *Hammond* sent Word to the Parliament, that he was detained at *Windsor*, and that Collonel *Ewre* had the Charge of the King. At the same time the General wrote to the Lord Mayor of *London*, that he was upon his March with his Army towards *London*, and demanded Fourty Thousand Pounds *Sterling* immediately of the City, and that he would quarter his Army in the void Houses near the City, as *Whitehall*, *St. James*, the *Mews*, *Tork House*, &c.

Upon this Advance of the Army, all Persons were full of Perplexity, not knowing the End of it. The Parliament then declared the seizing of the King's Royal Person was without their Advice, and against their Consent; and the House being to sit the next Day, Collonel *Pride*, with several of his Regiments, stood in the Court of Requests, upon the Stairs in the Lobby before the House of Commons, *Pride* having a Paper of Names in his Hand, and the Lord *Gray of Grooby* stood by him, to inform him who the Members were; and *Pride* seized upon such as the Lord directed by his Note, and sent them away with Soldiers, by special Order from the General and Council of Officers. The House of Commons being informed of this, sent their Serjeant at Arms to the Members seized upon, to let them know, it was the Pleasure of the House, that they should forthwith attend the Service of the House, but they were still detained by the Guard of Officers.

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The Army having thus ejected the greatest and best Part of the House of Commons, brought the rest so to their Will, whom they permitted to sit, that they acted nothing but by their Dictates, and in pursuance of their Designs, which were to subvert Monarchy, and to bury it in one Grave with the King; and having contrived with this Junctō of the House of Commons, how to bring the King to his End, which they soon resolved upon, with a strange unheard of Impudence, in a pretended Way of Justice, (whose Death the Junctō had long before resolved upon) and their Design being now ripe, a Resolution was taken, which amazed the whole Christian World, of which past Ages had never any Precedent, nor may any future Age take Example by this most barbarous and horrid Cruelty, to bring a just King, their lawful Sovereign (who prized his Subjects Liberties and Welfare before his own Life) to be adjudged by his most rebellious Subjects, and condemned to die, by a pretended Legality and Cloak of Justice, with mock Formalities of Law, and Villainy of so deep a Dye, that all the World blush at, being the Masterpiece of all Iniquities, which they thought better than to have poisoned their King in *Carisbrook* Castle.

And when the nauseous pestilential Air of *Hurst* Castle effected not what they designed, then they carried him with a strong Guard to *Windsor*, in order to his intended Tryal, denying him not only the Ceremony of the Knee, but even the common Civility of the Hat.

The

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The King being brought from *Windsor* to *St. James*, their Juncto of Parliament proceed to Votes in order to his Tryal, and declare, That by the fundamental Laws of the Land, it was Treason in the King of *England*, to levy War against his Parliament and Kingdom, and all the Blood spilt was by the Juncto laid upon the King, who was the greatest Sufferer in the War, which was made and begun upon him; and what the King did, was purely in his own Defence, who endeavoured to stop that Flux of Blood, by a Treaty with his two Houses of Parliament, which was agreed upon, but hindered by the imperious Army, who were so audacious, as to style the King, in their unparalleled rebellious Remonstrance, the Kingdom's capital Enemy, who was formerly condemned for yielding too little to his Parliament, and was now to be condemned by the Army, for yielding too much: He was formerly imprisoned for making War, and now was to be condemned for making Peace: He was at first condemned for having evil Counsellours, and was now to be condemned, having no Counsel; and all this to be done by Wolves in Sheeps Clothing, who pretended only Zeal, when their Hearts were filled with Blood, and were resolved from Servants to become Masters, to bring in Democracy, by abolishing Monarchy, declaring in their Charge, by that impudent Arch-Traitor *Bradshaw*, That the King of *England* is entrusted by the People with a limited Power to govern according to the Laws of the

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Land, and not otherwise; and that by his Trust, Oath, and Office, he is obliged to use the Power committed to him, for the Good and Benefit of the People, and for Preservation of their Rights and Liberties; and where the King fails in any of these, and rules and governs according to his Will, he thereby commits Treason, and may be impeached as a Traitor and Murderer: A Doctrine never heard of before, even amongst the most barbarous Nations, it evidently appearing, that the Authority of Kings is immediately derived from God, and not conferred upon them as a Trust from the People. They are called the *Ministers of God, and the Powers that be are ordained of God.*

When God first subjected his own People to the Government of Kings, the People had nothing to do in conferring the Power. *Moses* was made King and Ruler by God himself; so *Joshua* and the *Judges*; for so long Theocracy did continue visible amongst Men: And when the People desired a King, God was not angry with them for desiring it, for he had before told them, that they should have a King, but for some Irregularities in the Manner of their desiring it; neither was the King chosen by the People, but by Lot, and no Hand of the People in chusing him. *David* was made King by God's immediate Choice; but after him the Government descended by Succession: And no History either sacred or profane, can shew any Footsteps, that the People did entrust their Power to their Kings; which Supposition is
built

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built upon the mere Strength of their own Imagination. And if we take a View of all the Ways whereby Princes ascend to the Throne, it will appear they are but few; and yet in none of them the People confer the Power on the King.

First, by Descent and Succession, as in *England*, the People do not confer the Power. I know very well, at the King's Coronation, the Consent of the People is demanded; yet the King is King to all Intents and Purposes before his Coronation. Besides, all the People are not summoned, nor any considerable Part of them appear at the Coronation: And if any should reject his Prince, that would not hinder the Coronation, which is barely a thing of Course, and does not deduce the King's Power from the People. Nay, some Kings have deferred their Coronation, being only a Ceremony. In the next Place, if a King gets the Crown by Conquest, no Man can say, he receives the Crown by Consent of the People, tho' there be a tacit Consent in their yielding him Obedience. As for those who surprize a Kingdom by Fraud, they may impose upon the People, so as to gain a formal Consent, yet there is not a real Consent in those that are thus cajoled by the People, who had a Hand in bringing them in.

There are some that come to the Crown by Election, and here the People think the King derives his Power from them, believing the Throne was vacant, and make Stipulations with him that is to govern: But we must consider,

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that there is much Difference betwixt designing the Person, and conferring the Power; the former is from them that chuse, the latter by no means. The Dean and Chapter of a Cathedral, by the King's Leave, chuse a Bishop, *Sede vacante*; this Choice designs the Person, but does not confer the Power, which is afterwards given him in his Consecration. The Aldermen and Commons of a City do yearly chuse their Mayors; this Choice shews the Person, but does not confer the Power, which he hath by the King's Charter. When the Electors chuse an Emperor, or the States of *Poland* chuse their King, they only design his Person, his Power is not from them, but immediately from God. But supposing that, in the first Institution of Monarchy, the People did confer the Power upon the Prince, it doth not therefore follow, that it lyes in the Power of the People to revoke it; tho' this was unlawfully maintained against King *Charles I.* and since by some People holding the same Principles, who would have the King's Power to be a Trust committed to him by the People, and so revocable; which is a very false Supposition, and the Superstructure upon it must needs fall in Course; and yet supposing it was true, the Revocableness does not follow.

Both Law and Reason tell us, that what is absolutely conferred in any Compact, is not to be revoked. When the Aldermen and Common Council have chosen a Lord Mayor, it does not lye in their Power to reassume the Trust into their own Hands: When the Knights of the
Shire

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Shire are chosen to sit in Parliament, it does not lye in the Freeholders Power afterwards to recal their Trust: They might have forbore to commit the Trust, but they cannot recal it. Then the Accountableness of Princes to their People, in their Representatives, hath passed for current Doctrine in the last Age, by Imprisoning, Trying, and Condemning their lawful King; whereas no earthly Power can justly call their King in Question, God Almighty being the only Ruler of Princes, and to him alone they owe their Accounts, by whom all Kings reign, and cannot be called to any Account in this World, but by the Stings of their own Consciences: And it is a plain Contradiction, after we have owned the King to be Supreme, to affirm there is any other Superior to him, that can call him to an Account; it being a known Maxim, *Par in parem not habet Potestatem*. If then the King be Supreme, and there be others in his Kingdom that are Superior to him, then he is Supreme and not Supreme: But the *English* pretend they are under Stipulations of a conditional Obedience, provided the King maintains their Rights; so that the King not performing the former, they are not bound to the latter: Whereas we are certainly bound to Subjection irrespectively, to a *Caligula*, as well as to an *Augustus*; to cruel *Nero* and *Domitian*, as well as to courteous *Vespasian*; to the Apostate *Julian*, as well as to Christian *Constantine*, because they have equally their Power from God.

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The *Jews* were commanded to pray for the Prosperity of their Governours, and the Peace of *Babylon*, and for the Lives of *Nebuchadnezar* and *Balthazar*; and this was performed in the first and purest Ages. They were to pray for their Emperors and Kings irrespectively to their Religion, or Opinions in it, even for their Heathen Persecutors: And if they must pray for them, they must not certainly take up Arms against them: And if we must not touch the Lord's Anointed, our Assassination of him is contrary to our not touching him. *Tertullian* is certainly a competent Witness for *Septimius Severus*, and *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*; for *Valerianus* and *Gallienus*; the *Gallican* Church prayed for *Alericus*, the Eastern for the Emperor *Valerius*, an *Arian*, and for *Theodosius* the Younger, and *Valentinian* III. the one a *Nestorian*, the other a dissolute Person; and their Prayers were, that God would grant them long Life and a secure Reign, and preserve their Families in Safety, and their Government in Peace; which are perfectly inconsistent with Attempts on their Persons, or Practices to disturb the Tranquillity of their Government. The very endeavouring it, is perfectly opposite to the Tenor of the Old Testament, and of the Gospel. King *David* committed those two great Sins, of Murder and Adultery, either of which singly was capital by the *Jewish* Law; and yet we do not find him called to an Account for them. Nay, in his penitential Confession, he only looks up to God,

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God, and says, *Against thee only have I sinned:* Which is an Instance by which all Men should be guided. Besides, for the People to have a Power to call their Prince to an Account, is highly inconsistent with the Law of Nature, and is against all Reason and Conscience; for by this the People are both Complainants, Witnesses, Jury and Judges; a thing never heard of in any judicial Proceeding: And yet that hellish Junctio of Parliament made a High Court of Justice (as they called what was the Height of Injustice, and the utmost Wickedness) to Try and Condemn their lawful Sovereign: Such was the monstrous Impiety of the last Age! when that incomparable Monarch, the Honour of the World, was forced to bow down his Head, and fall a sad Sacrifice to the Fury of the most barbarous Villains that ever appeared upon the Stage of this World, when Men threw away a Felicity always to be reflected on, but never to be recovered, to the World's End.

Thus fell the best of Kings, whose Greatness of Judgment, as well as that of his Condition, did eminently appear at his Death, in the Clemency of his Nature, even in pardoning the Treason and Malice of his most inveterate Enemies, who were not satisfied with his Blood, but unhinged the best of Governments, and brought upon the *English* Nation nothing but Confusion and Misery. And having thus murdered their King, they took Possession of his Kingdom, disinherited (as much as in them lay) the lawful Heir, and by their Proclamation declared themselves a Free

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State. But before I go farther, give me Leave to give you this King's Character.

He was no great Scholar, his Learning consisted more in what he had seen, than what he had studied: His Judgment was good, and better than most of his Ministers. The Misfortune was, that he seldom depended upon it, unless in Matters of his own Religion, wherein he was always very stiff. His Arguing was beyond Measure civil and patient. He would seldom or never contradict any Man angrily, but would always say, by your Favour, I think otherwise, or, I am not of your Opinion. He would discourage any bold Address that was made to him, and did not love Strangers; and whilst he was upon his Throne, he would permit none to enter abruptly with him into Business. He was wiser than most of his Council, yet so unhappy as seldom to follow his own Judgment. He would always (whilst in his Court, be addressed to by proper Ministers, and still kept up the Dignity of his Court, limiting all Persons to Places suitable to their Employments and Quality, and would there only hear them, unless he called for them in particular. Besides the Ladies and Women who attended the King, he permitted no Minister to have his Wife in Court. He spake but slowly, and would stammer a little, when he began to speak eagerly. He seldom or never made his own Dispatches, till his latter Days, but would still mend and alter them; and to that Purpose he would often say, he found it better to be a
Cobler,

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Cabler, than a Shoemaker. As to his Religion, he was very positive in it, and would bear no Arguments against it.

When the Juncto had finished their sad Tragedy, we soon saw what followed their dismal Actings; for, having got the supreme Power into their Hands, they were resolved to overact all those who should oppose their tyrannical Proceedings: Neither could there be then a greater Crime than Loyalty, whilst That was only made Treason; and the Servants having got the Sword into their Hands, they resolved to improve it to their Security: And having then a Set of Men fit for their Turns, which were the Juncto, they would be sure that none of those who concluded the late King's Concessions a sufficient Ground for Settlement of Peace, should sit amongst them, but should be voted out of the House, and be no more admitted to sit as Members: And having thus settled their own House, they, in the next Place, fell upon the House of Lords, and vote, That the House of Peers in Parliament was useless and dangerous, and by an Act of theirs did abolish it; but yet, that they might have the Privilege to be elected Knights of the Shire and Burgesses; which was first willingly embraced by the Earl of *Pembroke* (who would play at small Game rather than sit out) but the rest of the Lords, sensible of that strange Alteration of the fundamental Government of the Nation, published their Protestation against it, in the Name of all the Peers of the Realm, being a treasonable
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Proceeding, and tyrannical Usurpation, of some Members of the House of Commons, being a few insolent and traitorous Members of that House, while the better and greatest Part of the House were forcibly detained from thence. But it was in vain to think, by Protestation, to reduce those Men to Reason, who had Swords by their Sides, and were resolved to overcome, or perish, in Maintainance of their usurped Authority, and abolishing whatever was right, as most likely to oppose their Intrusion: And therefore they declared, in the Name of the Commons of *England* assembled in Parliament (tho' they were not the tenth Part of their Number) that they found by Experience, the Office of a King in *England*, and to have the Power thereof in any one single Person, was unnecessary, and dangerous to the Liberty, Safety, Religion, and the publick Interest of the Nation, and therefore should be abolished: And to the End that all Persons might more readily yield Obedience to their usurped Power, they were absolved from all Oaths made to their late Sovereign and his Posterity.

Thus this small Part of a seeming Parliament (which was actually dissolved by the King's Death) acted by the Dictates of the Council of War, for the Juncto were only the Wheels of the Government, guided by the Will and Pleasure of the Army; or rather their Tools by which they acted, who yet thought themselves not strong enough, till a third Power was set up by them, to strengthen them in their
Usur-

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Usurpation. This they called a Council of State, consisting of Forty Persons, most of which were principal Officers of the Army, to whom Power was given to settle the Militia of *England and Ireland*, and to dispose of it from time to time, as they should think fit, and that they should execute their Powers for a Year; and an Oath was made, whereby each Member admitted to that Council, was to declare, That he approved what the House of Commons and their High Court of Justice had done against the late King, and their abolishing the Kingly Government and House of Lords; and that the legislative and supreme Power was wholly in the House of Commons. This Oath Twenty One of the Forty they had named refused to take, but their Number was soon filled up by them of as large Consciences as themselves.

About this time, *Cromwell* having been victorious in *Ireland*, and almost conquered all there, left his Son-in-Law, *Ireton*, Deputy in *Ireland*, to perfect the Conquest of that Kingdom, and comes over himself to *London*, where he was much carested by all the Officers of the new Commonwealth (for so the Juncto had declared *England* to be) and now the Juncto fearing lest *Charles II.* should join Interest with the *Scots*, they provided against a Storm from thence, and ordered a considerable Body of their Troops to lye upon the Borders near *Scotland*; and having an Account that the *Scots* had modelled an Army, with which they were preparing to enter *England*, *Cromwell*, with some other General Officers,

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Officers, were appointed to meet and confer with General *Fairfax*, and to perswade him, that the *English* Army then upon the Borders of *Scotland*, might forthwith enter into that Kingdom, and carry the War into their Country: But the General would not be satisfied in his Conscience to do that, being of the same Religion with them, notwithstanding all the Arguments that *Cromwell* and the other Officers could use to perswade him. In fine, he told them plainly, he would rather lay down his Commission than agree with them (which was indeed the great Design of those Officers that then met) and so they would press the General no farther, whose Commission was presently accepted by the Juncto of Parliament, and *Cromwell* was made forthwith General in *Fairfax's* Place; and being General, he readily marched with his Army Northwards, to the great Amazement of the *Scots*, who fearing an Invasion, alledged the Covenant and the Articles of Pacification, by which they ought not to be invaded without three Months Warning.

The first News that General *Cromwell* heard from *Scotland* was, that King *Charles II.* was landed there, and received as their King; and that it was resolved to invade *England*, if the *English* Army did not invade them: But that the *Scots* first thought fit to send to the Juncto of Parliament, to know whether the *English* Marching towards *Scotland* was in a Defensive or an Offensive Way? Whereupon the Juncto published, in a Declaration, their Reasons for their Army
marching

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marching Northwards. The *Scots* forthwith chose a particular Council, by whose Advice and Direction their King was to govern; who gave such general Satisfaction to the *Scots*, that by Proclamation published at *Edinburgh* Cross, they gave the King all his Royal Power; whereupon *Cromwell* advanced, and sent his Reasons into *Scotland*, of his March with his Army into that Kingdom, and soon after advanced to *Dunbar*, where both Armies were near each other; but the *English* beginning to want Provisions, *Cromwell* resolved to retreat, before his Army was put to Extremity. But the *Scots* pressed hard upon them, and the Presbyterian Ministers in the Army encouraged the *Scots* to fight, contrary to the Opinion of their General, and other principal Officers, who advised rather to make a Bridge for the *English* Army to pass quietly homewards, than to hinder or oppose them. But the Ministers carried for Fighting; and the Day before the Engagement, the *Scots* seemed so sure of Victory (by Encouragement from their Ministers, who said it was the Lord's Battle) that they consulted of sending Propositions to the *English*, that they should have Leave to pass into *England* with their Swords only, leaving their Cannon and Ammunition behind them. 'Tis true, the *English* were then in a very sad Condition, many sick and wanting Provisions, the Passes before them stopt, the *Scots* Army on one Side of them, the Sea on the other, and the Kingdom of *Scotland* behind them. The General seeing no Way to escape,

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escape, without making his Way thro' them, resolved to fight, in that desperate Condition, and after one Hour's warm Dispute, the *Scots* were defeated, and the *English* obtained an entire Victory, whereby the Scene was so much changed, that the *English* were forced to break the Pikes and Muskets they took, not having Conveniency of sending them for *England*. It seems the *Scots* pursued the *English* to *Dunbar*, and pressed so hard upon them (thinking they had them in a Net) that the *English* could not retire without fighting; by which they got so compleat a Victory, that General *Cromwell* was Master, that very Day, both of *Leith* and *Edinburgh*.

The News of this Defeat being brought to the King, he was pleased to say, he thanked God he was so rid of the *Scots*, that their Kirk might then see their Error in prohibiting their King from being in Person with their Army, and keeping out the *English*, and the rest of the King's Followers, who, in all Probability, had prevented their great Misfortune. However, their King was crowned soon after at *Scone*, tho' the *Scotch* Ministers preached, that their Defeat was occasioned by their too much Compliance with their King, to whom most of the *Scotch* Lords adhered: But some Commanders with the Kirk were of a contrary Opinion, and would by all means purge the King's Household. However, the *Scots* raise a new Army, whom the King in Person would command; the Duke of *Hamilton* is made Lieutenant General, *David Lesley*

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Lesley Major General, *Middleton* Lieutenant General of the Horse, and *Massy* Major General of the *English*; and with this Army the King hoped to get bye the *English*; and to make the Seat of the War in *England*. But after a long and terrible March, wherein were several Engagements, with different Success, the *English* being in the Rear, and on all Sides of the *Scots*; so that most of the Engagements were to the King's Disadvantage, who at last arrived at *Worcester* with his shattered Army, where he was beaten by General *Cromwell*, the Third Day of *September*, as he had done the Year before at *Dunbar*. After this total Defeat, the King escaped, and was miraculously preserved for a better Fortune, and to see the Murderers of his late Royal Father, at least some of the principal of them, most justly and deservedly punished.

After the Success of this Battle, General *Cromwell* went to *London*, and was highly caressed by all, and having then a Vacation from military Labours, he had Time to juggle with his Officers, to advance his Power; for tho' he then governed as King, and the Juncto of Parliament acted only according to his Dictates, yet he seemed not so great as he desired, whilst he only acted as Master, under the Title of a Servant; and finding the Juncto did not proceed in all things according to his Mind, he resolved to take the Power wholly into his own Hands, that it might clearly appear what he was in effect: And to this Purpose he got the
Consent

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Consent of most of the Officers of the Army, who were his Creatures, to be willing he should break the Juncto of Parliament. But before he would execute any Part of this, which within himself he had long before designed, and now being ripe for Execution, he held a long Conference with an eminent Person, upon whose Opinion and Judgment he much relied, and declared to him his Dissatisfaction with the Parliament's Proceedings, and that he would do nothing therein without his Advice, who was at this time a Member of Parliament, and in great Esteem among them. This Gentleman with whom *Cromwell* then conferred, told him freely, that since he governed all at present, and that the Juncto of Parliament did nothing without his Consent, he thought it best that he should continue General as he was, having the whole Government in his Hands, unless he would take upon him the Title of King, and then he might govern safely, and those that served under him would be in no Danger, he being King *de facto*, according to an Act of Parliament made in the Eleventh of *Henry VII.* which was still in Force: But *Cromwell* absolutely refused this, because he knew he could never get the Officers of the Army their Consent to it, nor some of his own near Relations, who swore they would kill him, if ever he took that Title upon him. This Conference puts me in Mind of what Mr. *Hambden* said to the Lord *Digby*, in the Beginning of the War, as they were going down the Parliament Stairs.

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Cromwell going just before them, the Lord Digby (who was then a great Man in the House of Commons) asked *Hambden*, who that Man was? *for I see, saith the Lord Digby, he is of our Side, by his speaking so warmly this Day:* Upon which Mr. *Hambden* replied, *That slovenly Fellow, which you see before us, who hath no Ornament in his Speech: I say, that Sloven, if we should ever come to have a Breach with the King, (which God forbid) I say, that Sloven, in such Case, will be one of the greatest Men of England;* which was a propheticall Speech: But *Hambden* knew him well, and was intimately acquainted with him.

Now, after this Conference between *Cromwell* and that other Person, a Member of Parliament, finding *Cromwell's* Averseness to what he proposed, he told him, there was but one other Way that he knew, whereby *Cromwell* might make himself and Family as great as he pleased, but that he would not propose it, without first having an Assurance from his Excellency, that he would not take it ill what he should say, nor mention it to any other; both which *Cromwell* promised him upon his Faith and Honour: And when the Gentleman disclosed himself farther to *Cromwell*, advertizing him what he might do, to his own eternal Honour, and to what Advantage he pleased, for all his Family, his Excellency told the Gentleman, that it was a Matter of the greatest Importance, and would require a good Time to consider of it. But his Excellency never spoke one Word more to that

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Gentleman about it; and finding by that Gentleman's Discourse, that he was not like to approve of what he intended, his Excellency soon found a Way to have him sent a foreign Ambassador, whilst he continued his first Resolution; in order to which, he first erects a Council of Officers, who expostulate with the Parliament about their Arrears, and the Dissolution of the Parliament, which occasioned a long Debate in the House, where it was resolved they would continue their Power: Whereupon General *Cromwell*, in the Month of *April 1653*, comes into the House with some of his Generals, and a File of Musqueteers, and dissolves the Juncto of Parliament, and after declares his Reasons for it, to give the People Satisfaction.

In this he was obeyed, tho' with some Murmuring and Reluctancy of the Members. He then bid his Soldiers take away the Fool's Bauble, their Mace. The Speaker being unwilling to leave his Chair, was pulled out of it by Collonel *Harrison*, and *Cromwell* sat down in it, and staid in the House, till he saw all the Members out, and then he caused the Doors to be locked up, to the great Content of the Nation, who then judged a worse Slavery could not befall them, tho' they expected little Liberty or Freedom from him into whose Hands the Power then fell. This Action was certainly a much higher Affront than what the House of Commons took so ill from the late King, that one of their own Members should so violently turn them all out.

Thus

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Thus this Juncto of Parliament was at this time treated by those that had set them up, and took their Commissions and Authority from them; nor could the Army justify any Action they had done, or one Drop of Blood they had spilt, but by their Authority. The Servants rose up against their Masters, and dissolved that Power by which they were created Officers and Soldiers, and then the Army took (what they had long since designed) all Power into their own Hands; and after the Parliament had subdued all their Enemies, they were overthrown and ruined by their own Servants, and those whom they had raised, pulled down their Masters; an Example very strange! by which we see how uncertain all worldly Affairs are, and how apt to fall, when they think them at the highest Point: And soon after this Dissolution, the General gave his Reasons in Print to satisfy the Nation why he had dissolved them, in a long Declaration.

By this Dissolution, *Cromwell* was possessed of the Three Kingdoms, having both the legislative and military Power in his Hands; and therefore he thought fit to chuse several Persons to be the supreme Government, who met at *Westminster*, and called themselves a Parliament, and chose one Mr. *Rouse* for their Speaker, who had the usual Ceremonies belonging to that Office, and this was by Nick-name called *Barebone's* Parliament, because he was a Member of it, being at that time a Leather-Seller in *Fleetstreet*. But this Parliament not

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agreeing amongst themselves, (tho' they were but an Hundred and Forty) after some short Time, they resign their Power to *Cromwell* who gave it them. Then *Cromwell* is declared by his Council, or by the Instrument of Government, as they called it, Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and proclaimed so in the usual Places as the Kings formerly were; and in this extraordinary Manner he mounted the Throne of the Three Kingdoms, without the Name of a King, but with greater Power and Authority than any King, and received greater Esteem and Respect from all the Princes of Christendom, than ever had been shewed to any Monarch of the Three Nations: For tho' they all abhorred him, yet they trembled at his Power, and courted his Friendship. After he had sufficiently beaten the *Dutch*, he made a Peace with them, and obliged *Portugal* to send an Ambassador to make Peace, and prosecuted all those of the King's Party that were at home, with the utmost Rigour and Cruelty, and erected a High Court of Justice, for Tryal of such as should rise, or plot any thing against him, and many were executed upon that Account. He made his youngest Son *Henry* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*: But *England* proved not so as he expected; for the most considerable Men that were in the House of Commons, from the time that he dissolved them, poisoned the Affections of the People towards the Government, and yet carried themselves so warily, that they did not

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not disturb the Peace of the Nation. And tho' *Cromwell* was then possessed of the sovereign Power, yet he thought himself not secure, till he had the Consent of the People in Parliament; and therefore, according to his Power in the Instrument of Government, he summoned a Parliament, which met at *Westminster*, the Third Day of *September 1654*, the famous Day of his two great Victories at *Dunbar* and *Worcester*, and in this Parliament *Lenthall* was chosen Speaker. This he thought was the only Way to have the People entirely submit to him, and he ordered it so, that no Person who had ever been against the Parliament, during the time of the Civil War, or the Sons of any such Person, should be chosen. *Cromwell* came into the House, and allowed the Speaker: The first Speech that was made amongst them, was to know by what Authority they came thither? And whether he that had convened them, had a lawful Power to do it? And tho' the Protector's Creatures endeavoured to direct them, yet many of the Members declared against the Power: And one more bold than others said, *That as God had made him instrumental of cutting down Tyranny in one Man; so now he could not endure to see the Nation's Liberties shackled by another, who had no Right to the Government, but by the Length of his Sword.* The Continuance of this warm Debate lasted for some Days, which much perplexed the Protector, who sent for the Parliament to him in the *Banqueting-House*, and told them in his canting

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Tone, that he was sorry to hear they were falling into Heats and Divisions, and declared, that the same Government that made him Protector, had made them a Parliament; and that therefore no Man was to sit in that House, that did not first take an Engagement, which he had caused to be made, which many refused to take, as being against their Privileges, and a Guard was set at the Door of the House, that none should enter that had not taken it; and notwithstanding many refused entering upon that Account, yet the Residue proved so resty, that he was obliged to dissolve them; which he did, and said, he could do his Business without them. It was about this time, that *Wildman* and *Lilburn*, the two great Levellers, were taken and prosecuted, but *Lilburn* more severely than the other; and tho' he was accused and tryed for High-Treason, yet the Jury found him Not Guilty. He told the People at his Tryal, *That all Englishmen were obliged to oppose Cromwell's Tyranny, as he had done purely for their sakes, to preserve them from being Slaves*: And tho' he was acquitted, yet *Cromwell* never suffered him to be set at Liberty, but still kept him inclosed from Prison to Prison, till he himself died.

After the Dissolution of the Parliament, *Cromwell* not thinking himself secure in the Government, he invented a new Chimera to keep the People in Awe, which was the Government by the Major Generals, and the whole Kingdom was divided amongst them, being

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Eleven in all: These were principally employed to decimate Delinquents Estates, and gave them great Power to value what the Tenth Part of every such Estate did amount to, and every Man was to pay what they thought fit, and upon Neglect, the Person to be imprisoned, and his whole Estate sequestered. But finding these Major Generals were very odious to all Parties, and fearing they might in the End undermine his own Greatness, and govern like *Turkish* Bassaws, he soon put an End to their Power, believing they eclipsed his Glory.

Then the *Jews* offered *Cromwell* a great Sum of Money, that they might be permitted to traffick freely; but the City and principal Merchants therein being much against it, that Project failed him. After, in the Year 1656, *Cromwell* (who was then called Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, &c.) summoned another Parliament, who met accordingly, and remembring the Speeches and Carriages of many Members of the late Parliament, he gave secret Advice to the Sheriffs of the several Counties, to hinder, if possible, their being chosen; but this Advice proved fruitless in most Places. However, the Parliament met, and before they were permitted to enter the House, they were to subscribe a Recognition, that they would act nothing that was prejudicial to the Government, as established by a Protector: Whereupon many Members chose rather to return home; but the Major Part signed the Recognition, entered the

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House, and chose Sir *Thomas Withrington* Speaker, who acted suitably to the Protector's Desires in every thing. The Parliament pressed *Cromwell* mightily to be King, which *Cromwell* positively refused; but his Refusal seemed not in the least disadvantageous; for that by a new Instrument, which was called the Humble Petition and Advice, they granted him not only the Authority of Protector for his Life, but also a Power to declare his Successor; and when they had agreed upon this, they desired an Audience, which he gave them in the *Banqueting-House*, the TwentyFifth of *May* 1657, where their Speaker, *Withrington*, presented and read the Petition and Advice of his Parliament, and desired his Assent to it, which the Protector then signed, and made a long Harangue to them, and was solemnly inaugurated in *Westminster-Hall*, and adjourned the Parliament till *January* following.

And thus the Parliament having done all that could be expected from them, he would do something for himself, whose Greatness, in that Vacancy, was so well established, both at Home and Abroad, that it seemed as if it could never be shaken. He was confirmed in his Power with the Title of Protector, and took his Oath accordingly, and was proclaimed Protector in the usual Places as the Kings formerly were, and solemnly inaugurated in *Westminster-Hall*.

In *January* the Parliament met; but new Institutions in Government are often unsecure, for a Gap was left open, which none of the
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Contrivers of the new Government thought of, there being one Article in *The Humble Petition and Advice*, to which *Cromwell* had assented and sworn, *That no Member lawfully chosen should be excluded, but by the Consent of that House of which he was a Member*; and proceeding to the calling over their House, all those who had been before refused Entrance, for not signing the Recognition, were admitted, whereby above One Hundred of the most inveterate Enemies of the Protector came and sat in the House: But *Cromwell* thought he had sufficiently provided for his Security, to restrain the Insolency of the House of Commons, by having called the other House, which by the Petition and Advice was to be done, and filled it for the most Part with Officers of the Army, and of his surest Friends, and that were firmly fixed to the Protector's Interest.

When the Adjournment ended, and the Houses met, *Cromwell* came to the Upper House, and sent the Black Rod for the House of Commons to attend him; and being in his Chair of State, he began his Speech in the old Style, *My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses of the House of Commons*. So soon as the Commons returned to their House, they began to question the Authority and Jurisdiction of the other House: That tho' the Petition and Advice admitted there should be another House, but that it should be a House of Peers, and they be called My Lords, there was no such Provision; nor did it appear what Jurisdiction they should

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have; and that it would be ridiculous for them, who sat only by their Vote, no better Men than themselves, to have a negative Voice to controul their Masters; and they esteemed it as a thing made on Purpose to mock them: And then they began to question the Protector's Authority, how his Highness came to place them in the House of Peers, at which the Commons were much disgusted: Of which the Protector being advertized, he was strangely surprized, and found he had been short-sighted, in not having proceeded at the same time, to fill up his House of Commons, when he erected his other of Peers. However, he forthwith convened both Houses, and reprehended the House of Commons for presuming to question his Authority: The other House, he said, were Lords, and should be Lords, and commanded them to enter upon such Business as might be for the Benefit, not Destruction of the Commonwealth, which he would by God's Help prevent: But finding his Animadversions did not reform them, but that they continued their former Presumption, and knowing the Ticklishness of his Time would not endure Disputes, especially as to his Pageant Lords, whom he had newly erected: He therefore sent the Black Rod for the House of Commons, the Fourth of *February*, and after having used many sharp Expressions of Indignation, he told them, it concerned his Interest as much as the Peace of the Nation, to dissolve them, and accordingly he did dissolve them: And to shew how little he feared those Men
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who contradicted him at home, he sent immediately for *Lambert*, and took away his Commission, and removed him from the Army, who forthwith retired, and was as little taken notice of, as if he had never been in Authority; which gave great Reputation to the Protector, and shewed he was Master of his Army.

Whilst these warm Debates were in Agitation at home, about the Protector's Government, he was so cunning as to make Treaties and Leagues abroad, and was publicly owned by many Kingdoms and States; and it was about this time, that the *English*, with Conjunction of the *French*; took *Dunkirk* and *Graveling*; the first of which was by Agreement garrisoned by the *English*, and Sir *William Lockhart*, a *Scotchman*, made Governour; and *Graveling* was garrisoned by the *French*.

But during these Successes abroad, the King was first at *Cologne*, where he was well received and treated, before which, his Family was in great Disorder at *Paris*; but being at *Cologne*, it was put under the Care and Management of Sir *Stephen Fox*, who had the Disposal of all, and he there kept the King's House and Family for about Six Hundred Pistoles a Month; but his Majesty never kept a Coach all the time he was at *Cologne*. From thence his Majesty went to *Bruges* in *Flanders*, where he stayed in the Year 1657; and after he had been there some time, Six Thousand Guilders was settled monthly for himself and Family; and Half that Sum (I mean Half as much more) for Support of
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the Dukes of *York* and *Gloucester*. He was then to raise Four Regiments of Foot; the first Regiment for his own Guards, commanded by the Lord *Wentworth*; but they were to do their Duty in the Army as common Men, till his Majesty was in Condition to bring them about his Person. The Earl of *Ormond* had the second Regiment, the Earl of *Rocheſter* the third, and the fourth was given to the Earl of *Newburgh*, a *Scotch* Nobleman, who had served the King with great Fidelity: And these four Regiments were soon raised. Whilst the King was at *Bruges*, *Cromwell* exercised all imaginary Tyranny in his Government: The King's Heart was almost broken with the daily Informations he received, of the Ruine and Destruction his loyal Party underwent, and the Butchery acted upon them, and the extreme Tyranny *Cromwell* exercised over the whole Nation, was then very grievous to his Majesty, seeing no End of it.

Scotland was then governed by a Rod of Iron, subdued by those whom they had first taught to rebel, and with whom they had joined to destroy their own natural Prince, and dissolved that Monarchy which had been ever since they were a Nation; and those who had used to practise such ill Behaviour towards their King, were then contemned, and made Slaves to the meanest of the People, who prescribed them new Laws to which they had never been accustomed. The King then saw those, who were the Beginners and first Authors of our publick
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Calamities, so much Sharers therein, that they were no more Masters of their own Estates, than they were whom they had first spoiled; and that no Part of the new Government was in their Hands who had pulled down the old; and that after Monarchy had seemed so odious to them, their whole Nation was at the Disposal of a single Person; and that those *Scotch* Lords, without whose traitorous Assistance the Scepter could never have been wrested out of the Hands of their King, were now reckoned amongst the Dreggs of the People, and so numbred. This could not but give some Satisfaction to King *Charles II.* to see God's Judgments fallen upon them, who were the principal Cause of our Rebellion in *England*.

But before I go farther, I will beg Leave here to give you *Cromwell's* Character, both before and after he came to be Protector. At the first Beginning of the Long Parliament, when he heard any Man speak of the Troubles of the Nation, he would weep most bitterly, and appear the most afflicted Person in the World, with the Sense of the Calamities that were likely to arrive: But the wiser sort of Men in the House of Commons soon discovered his wicked Intentions, and his great Hypocrisy was no longer concealed from them. Nothing more perplexed him, than the Death of his dear Daughter *Claypole*, who was troubled at nothing so much, before her Death, as at the Blood her Father had spilt; and it was believed she had represented his worst Actions to him,
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and yet he never made the least Shew of any Remorse or Repentance for any of his Actions. He could never have done half that Mischief he did, without having great Parts of Industry, Courage, and Judgment. He must have had a wonderful Insight into the Affections and Humours of Men, who from a private Birth, without any Interest, Estate, or Alliance, could raise himself to so great a Height: He attempted that which no good Man durst undertake, and performed that which none but a wicked valiant Man could succeed in. There was certainly never a more wicked Man, nor one that ever brought to pass what he designed more wickedly. He consulted very few, and when he had once taken a Resolution, he would not be dissuaded from it. He was never unfortunate in any of his Undertakings abroad, but only in that of *Pen and Venable*, who were sent out by him with a Fleet and Land Army, in 1655, and had ill Success. In fine, to reduce Three Nations, who perfectly hated him, into an intire Obedience, and to govern them with a Rod of Iron, by an Army that wished his utter Ruine, was an Instance of a prodigious Address, and shewed, that he was born for the Ruine of our *English* Nation.

But yet, after all his Greatness both at home and abroad, some things happened before his End, which much disturbed him; not only the frequent Plots against his Person, but the Coming up of a monstrous Whale in the fresh Water, contrary to the Nature of that Fish, as

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far as *Greenwich*, where it was taken, and believed by many to portend some great Alteration in the Commonwealth: Yet this did not so much trouble the Protector, as the Death of his dear Daughter *Claypole*, who died in the Beginning of *August* 1658. He had settled his greatest Affection upon this Daughter, from the time of whose Death he appeared very melancholy, and fell sick about the Middle of *August*; but his Sickness being only an Ague, there was no Apprehensions of his Death; and he declared publicly to his Physicians, and many others, *That God would not take him away, till he done some more Work for him.* But it soon appeared, that if God did not, the Devil did take him; for he died the Third of *September* following: A Day that had been so fortunate to him proved his last in this World; and such a Tempest accompanied his Death that Night, as was not seen in the Memory of Man: Great Trees in *St. James's Park* were blown up by the Roots, of which I was an Eye Witness. The large strong Pales, which made up the Breach on *London Bridge* (caused by a violent Fire some Years before) were blown down; many Boats cast away upon the *Thames*, great Shipwrecks at Sea, besides several by the Storm, in divers Parts of *England*, by Land. The Prince of the Air shewed His Power was above the Protector's, who thought not fit that he should part quietly out of this World, who had made such a Combustion, Trouble, and Misery in it. He was a Person indeed, who, by his Arts of Dissembling,

sembling, Wickedness, and Murder, attained to the Height of Greatness: He made foreign Nations know more of *England's* Strength, than any of our Kings of late Years had done. Besides, he had all Parts of Policy so necessary for an Usurper, and had so perfectly learnt the Art of Dissembling, that, with his Eyes lifted up to Heaven (whose Heart was far from it) and his Hand laid on his Breast, he would pray, cry, and act the Saint, till he had fully accomplished his Designs.

After *Cromwell's* Death, his Son *Richard* being named in the Petition and Advice, succeeded as Protector; but having nothing of his late Father's Spirit or Parts, was unfit to hold what his late Father had got, and so was quickly turned out and deposed by his ambitious and jealous Kindred, without drawing his Sword for it. Then, at the Army's Call, that filthy Part of the Commons called the Juncto, returned back to govern; who not pleasing their over-powerful Masters, the Army, they were a second time expelled by the Army. Then a Creature of the Army's begetting (with a new Name of their own devising) called, *The Committee of Safety*, was substituted, which occasioned a great Difference betwixt the *English* and *Scotch* Army, the latter declaring a great Dissatisfaction against the Proceedings of the former, and the Contest ended by the Divisions in the *English* Army, their Mutinery and Mouldring away, whilst the *Scotch* Army, under the Command of the prudent *Fabius*, General

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ral *Monk*, advanced towards *London*, whose Coming and Design had been prevented, if timorous *Fleetwood* had made good his Promise of sending first to the King, the Great Seal, with the Keeper of it, to assure his Majesty of their Repentance and Resolution to call in the King; which was agreed betwixt *Fleetwood* and the Keeper, who was ready to go with the Great Seal: But some Officers, then in Being in the Army, opposed *Fleetwood*'s Resolution, who had before promised them to do nothing without their Consent, of that Nature; and so the whole Business was set aside, when the Keeper was ready to go with the Great Seal.

It was the King's great Happiness, that *Monk* never owned his Design of serving the King, till it fell in his Power. If he had declared his Resolution sooner, he had destroyed himself; and the Assurance that the Parliament had, that *Monk* had no such Intention, hindered those Obstructions which probably would have ruined his Credit with his own Army, and united the rest of the Forces against him. It is true, that he was the Instrument to bring that to pass, which certainly he had neither Wisdom to foresee, nor Understanding to contrive, he being a phlegmatick dull Person, till he was awakened by his Officers, who thought him in great Danger by pulling down the Gates of the City of *London*: And therefore his Officers perswaded him to march again into the City, and then he declared to the Citizens (at Alderman *Wate*'s House) whom I knew very well, and at which

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time I lodged at Mr. *Clargy's* House, an Apothecary near *Charing-Cross*, whose Sister was married to *Monk*. This Apothecary was a very active stirring Man, and full of Intrigues, and I believe he prevailed much with his Brother *Monk*, to induce him to do what he did: For, whilst he was at Alderman *Wate's*, he then assured the Citizens, that he would live and die with them, which gave them great Joy, and put the Parliament in some Disorder; whereupon they sent some Members to treat with him, upon which he returned to *Whitehall*, and then sent for the Members of both Parties, for those that were turned out of Parliament in the Year 1648, and delivers a Paper to them in Writing, which his Secretary read to them; and then they all thought, that he really intended the Establishing a Commonwealth: But no sooner was the Conference ended, but the Members that had been excluded from 1648, entered the House of Commons, and presently dissolved themselves; which really contributed as much to his Majesty's Service, as if really *Monk* had designed it at the first: But whether he did, or did not, I think is yet a great Question, the wisest amongst us believing he never at first intended it, but that it fell into his Lap, to make our Nation happy, by restoring the right Heir to the Crown, without the Assistance of any foreign Prince, which was a Happiness beyond our Expectation or Desert.

But before the almost miraculous Restoration of King *Charles II.* and his coming to the Government,

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vernment, I think something may be said, tho' not in Vindication, yet in Mitigation, of the Crimes committed by some Members in that Long Parliament, in which unhappy Times the Crown was even laid in the Dust, and the Justice of the King's Cause did not prevail against those malignant Spirits (who had designed the King's Ruine) and had misled and corrupted the Understandings of many of his Majesty's Subjects, who were over-perswaded by the specious Shew of *Salus Populi suprema Lex*, and thro' Mistakes and Inconveniences then introduced (tho' not intended by the late King) did, in those calamitous Times, rather weakly than wilfully, transgress their Bounds of Duty, and did not pay the Reverence and Obedience to the fundamental Laws of the Land, which they should have done, but were led by the wicked Insinuation of others, being confident that many, from their Hearts, abhorred every Article of that strange and unheard of Rebellion, and most heartily deprecated the Miseries that followed it; and yet they themselves contributed to it, and to those very Votes from whence those Evils they abhorred did naturally spring; not considering, that when their Consultations tended to lessen or infringe the Power and Dignity of their King, they meddled with that which was not in their Determination, and which the King ought to have maintained with the Sacrifice of his Life: And we may well believe, those Miseries could never have been brought upon the *English* Nation,

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tion, nor that Violence committed upon the sacred Person of his then Majesty, if those profligated Villains that designed it, had not first violated the Parliament, by forcibly excluding those Members, who would never have consented to so execrable an Attempt, since they had avowed and covenanted for Defence and Safety of the King's Person, which was ever before dear to Parliaments: And none can think of that horrid Act committed against the precious Life of our Sovereign, but with Detestation, and such Abhorrence, that Words are wanting to express it. And had I the Voice of *Stentor*, nay, of *St. Paul*, I could not sufficiently declaim against it; and next to wishing it had never been, we wish it may never be remembered, but with that Grief and Trouble of Mind it deserves, being the greatest Reproach to our *English* Nation that it ever yet incurred, tho' the Nation it self, as well as several Members of Parliament were innocent of it, which was the only Contrivance and Act of some ambitious blood-thirsty Persons, hoping the divine Justice will not impute the Evil of it, to the whole Kingdom, and involve the Guiltless with the Guilty.

*The END of the MEMOIRS of the
REIGN of K. CHARLES I.*

MEMOIRS
AND
REFLECTIONS
UPON THE
Reign and Government
OF
K. CHARLES the II^d.

*Written by Sir RICHARD BULSTRODE,
Agent and Resident at the Court of Spain,
from King Charles II. and after his Death,
Envoy from King James II. till the Coming
in of the Prince of Orange.*

L O N D O N:
Printed in the Year MDCCXX.

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MEMOIRS
OF THE
REIGN and GOVERNMENT
OF
K. CHARLES the II^d.



AFTER the deplorable Death of King *Charles I.* fitter to be written in Tears of Blood than Ink, or rather to have a Veil drawn over it, that it may never be remembered, to the eternal Shame of the *English* Nation, his Son, King *Charles II.* was crowned King in *Scotland*; but it was upon such hard Terms, that it was a Question, whether

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whether the Crown was worth accepting. However, as the King's Affairs then stood, it was judged best to accept of it, preferring the empty Title of a King in his own Dominions, to the empty Title of a King in another Nation. And yet it was thought strange, that the King would put himself into the Hands of that Nation, whose Army had treated his royal Father so perfidiously; the Selling and Delivering him to the Parliament of *England*, being the most barbarous Action that any People were ever guilty of; and their Honour can never be repaired for the Horridness of that most wicked Crime. However, the late King *Charles* could not be much blamed, in the sad Posture of his Affairs, for going to that Army, to which he was so kindly invited, having been ever a great Lover of that Nation, not only having been born there, but educated by them; and therefore thought he should find there his greatest Security, where he found the most Danger. But indeed such strange Circumstances contributed to his Ruine, that we might think Heaven and Earth had conspired against him, who was from the Beginning so much betrayed by his own Servants, that very few remained faithful to him; and yet their Treachery proceeded rather from some particular Animosities amongst themselves, than from any treasonable Intent to do the King Harm: And notwithstanding he was reduced to so miserable a Fate, yet it is most certain he had as great a Share in the Hearts and Affections of his Subjects in general,

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ral, and was as much beloved and esteemed by them, as any of his Predecessors: But it was our Wantonness under the Happiness we enjoyed beyond any other Nation, and our own Sins, which brought that Judgment upon us. The strange Transactions in *England*, which began in the Year 1641, are not to be paralleled for the wonderful Passages therein; we then saw *England*, in the highest Pitch of worldly Happiness, fall to the lowest Degree of Misfortune and Misery.

I know very well, how unsearchable the Secrets of Princes are, in what an Abyss they lye, and how much too deep to be sounded by our Discourses; but when I remember the Turns of those Times, I seem rather to dream, than to think the Relation true, of so many surprising Revolutions, which are scarce credible in this our Age. The best of Kings was then condemned by merciless Rebels, after being abandoned by his nearest Friends, and pursued by his fiercest Enemies, who furiously seized upon his sacred Person, and at last took away his Life, and triumphed in their own Wickedness with successful Insolence for some Years, when, at last, by God's Providence, the rightful Heir to the Crown was brought home to his own People, without the Assistance of any foreign Prince, in as full Exercise of his Government, as any of his Predecessors ever enjoyed, and by many of the same Men, who had before been very active in the Miseries of the Kingdom, and Destruction of their own Country;

Country; and yet the Sufferings of the royal Family were all recovered, by the concurring Hand of divine Providence. By which we may see, when Subjects make Victories over their Princes, they are Triumphs over themselves; and those Men which will force Laws which they are bound to preserve, will, in the End, find all their Victories full of Troubles, bringing Ruine to their Authors.

But, leaving this Digression, let us see what is become of our King in *Scotland*, who carried many eminent faithful Subjects with him thither, who were nothing at all esteemed by the *Scots*, who chose a particular Council, by whose Advice the King was to govern, who gave the *Scots* great Satisfaction in all things they desired of him: And, upon his being crowned in *Scotland*, *Cromwell* was declared General, and prepared for a War, and marched with his Army, which he had before modelled to his own Mind, commanded absolutely, discountenancing and suppressing all who had been supported by General *Fairfax*. The Independants had all the Credit about *Cromwell*, and the Pulpits were open to all that would shew their Gifts, and great Distraction and Confusion in Religion then governed. The *Scots* raised an Army against *Cromwell*, supplied with all things necessary, but Prudence, Courage, and Conduct. The King desired that he might command the Army, since he was to run the Fortune of it; but the *Scots* would scarce give him Leave to see it. *Cromwell* enters *Scotland*

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as far as *Dunbar*, but was soon reduced to great Distress, for want of all Necessaries. The *Scots* really believed they had the *English* at their Mercy; and it is certain, if the *Scots* had only kept their Trenches, and sent Parties of Horse after the *English*, they would have marched off, and left their Cannon and heavy Baggage behind: But *Cromwell* seeing the *Scotch* Army decamp, and follow him, he then made a Stand with his Army, and the *Scots* soon found they were not upon so clear a Chase as they imagined, being so clearly defeated by *Cromwell*, that he was that Night, being the Third of *September*, Master both of *Leith* and *Edinburgh*. The *Scots*, like the Anabaptists in *Germany*, pretended at first nothing but Faith and true Fear of God, and declared against Riches and Honours as Vanity; and upon the great Opinion of their Humility and Devotion, they had procured much Esteem; and after they had ensnared many with their Hypocrisy, they would reform both Church and State: And having gotten Power, and enriched themselves with the Spoils of *England*, they thought then to justify themselves by our Saviour's Promise, that *The Meek should inherit the Earth*. When they first entered *England*, their Success crowned their Work, and they were thought a wise and resolute Nation; for, after an unbloody War, for above one Year, they returned laden with Spoils and great Riches, and were liberally rewarded, as well for going out, as coming into *England*.

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It seems the King, in *Scotland*, was so far from being in their late Battle at *Dunbar*, that he was not admitted into their Councils or Army: But to redeem their former Error, they resolved to raise a new Army, to be commanded by the King in Person, hoping to pass another Way by *Cromwell* into *England*, intending to make the Seat of the War there, and made the highest Professions of Duty to his Majesty, that could be invented, and gave great Promises to the King, of what Demonstrations of Zeal and Duty they would suddenly shew him.

The King began his March, which was long and terrible, and several Engagements passed in the Way, with different Success, but most of them to the King's Disadvantage, who, in the End, arrived at *Worcester* with his shattered Army, and was there as clearly defeated by *Cromwell*, the Third of *September*, as the Scots were the Year before at *Dunbar*. The King's Escape, after the Loss of this Battle, was very miraculous, being preserved by a wonderful Providence from the Fury of his blood-thirsty Rebels. His Majesty first met in a Wood, not far from *Boscobell*, with Captain *Careless*, who perswaded the King to get up into an Oaken Tree: From thence he went into a Cottage, where he lay in a Barn, and was then conducted to another House by Father *Huddleston*, who was sent to him by *Careless*, who after brought him to the Lord *Wilmot*, who conducted the King to Mr. *Lane's* House; from whence the King rode before young Mrs. *Lane*,

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to her Cousin *Norton* near *Bristol*, where the King was known to the Butler. From thence the Lord *Wilmot* took the King into *Sussex*, to Collonel *Gunter's*, and from thence brought the King into *Normandy*, who had ever after a great Esteem for his Lordship. There was indeed such a Concurrence of Charity, good Nature and Generosity, in Persons of the meanest Extraction, and hardest Fortune, who knew the Delivery of the King would have been of great Advantage to them, that we may look upon the King's Escape as conducted by Hands of the Almighty, who covered him as with a Shield, when his rebellious People sought his Life, who was still concealed from their most diligent Search, wherein Father *Huddleston* was very instrumental: And tho' many knew where the King was, and those very poor, yet none were tempted by great Rewards, and more powerful Fears, to betray the King, who after many Changes of Station, and Misfortunes, after this miraculous Manner, was brought into *France*, and at last brought home to his own People: And tho' he was forced away by a Whirlwind of Rebellion, he was restored to his Three Kingdoms with the still Voice of Peace and Mercy; a happy Prefage how his Majesty would govern, whose Reign, at least the Beginning of it, shewed sufficiently his meek and generous Temper. In the time of the King's Banishment, he spent two Years at *Cologne*, where he was well received by a Widow, at whose House he lodged. Before his going to *Cologne*, his

his Family was in great Disorder; but at his being there, by Direction of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, his Family was put under the Care and Management of Sir *Stephen Fox*, who kept it in excellent Order. The King was then of a very merciful Nature, and at that time it was very agreeable to his Inclination, not to have the Penal Laws put in Execution; and tho' it was not in his Power to repeal them, yet it was never in his Will to execute them; and his Majesty was then very forward to do all he could for the *Roman* Catholicks in that kind: But when he came into *England*, he soon changed his Mind, and proved in the End very severe against the *Roman* Catholicks, who desired to live quietly, but could not be allowed to do so.

Upon this King's most happy Restoration, there was seen from all Parts his loyal Subjects contending how to express their Gratitude to Heaven, for its glorious Favour, and the King's no less than miraculous Return, and for the manifold Blessings they were like to enjoy under the benign Reign of so excellent a Prince, every Man striving who should first pay the humble Oblation of their Duties, which really proceeded from Hearts full of Reverence and Obedience to his sacred Person; being possessed with a deep Sense of the Honour and good Fortune they had to be born his Subjects: And, indeed, who could forbear to be transported with Joy, that was going to receive his King? And who could contain the Overflowings of his Heart,

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Heart, when he could say, *I have my KING again?*

'Tis true, that when the Nation had been so long mad, after so many Changes and Revolutions, and our Progress from bad to worse, we might with Reason have expected, God should have sent us the worst of Tyrants, some Infidel or Usurper, to scourge us with Whips, as we well deserved; But he was so gracious as to send us our own King, the undoubted Heir to the Crown, to redeem our Nation from the Infamy it had undergone, and to restore it to all it had lost, and to make the People as happy as they ought to be. In order to which, the King gave a general Pardon to all (excepting only such as should be excepted by Parliament) and that no Person whatsoever, for any Crime committed, either against his late royal Father, or against the present King's sacred Person, should ever be brought in Question, to the least Damage of Life, Liberty, or Estate, or even to the Prejudice of his Reputation, or any other Reproach or Term of Distinction: And the King did then also declare a Liberty to tender Consciences, and that none should be disquieted, or called in Question for Difference of Opinion in Matters of Religion, which did not disturb the Peace or Settlement of the Kingdom. And further, to let his Subjects see how to practise the Art of Forgetfulness, which they should learn from him, his Majesty did then put some Men into eminent Employments, who had before disserved him; so that every Man might
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capacitate himself, by his future Behaviour, for any Place. But this Conduct seemed to some like a trimming Indifferency, to disoblige his old Friends, in hopes of getting new ones, which hath usually been the Subversion of Governments; and no wise Counsellour would advise his Prince to grieve his old Friends, to make his old Enemies rejoice. However, as the Posture of the King's Affairs then stood, he was obliged to take such Measures; but whether, at last, the King found his End in them, is yet a great Question. For, as the Judgments of God, have, in all Ages, reached those at last, who have secretly taken away the Lives of Princes, or have been in open Rebellion against their lawful Kings, so his Justice did at last, in *England*, become the Revenger of Blood, and pursued those that killed and took Possession, after they had boasted of their Wickedness for several Years, and brought them at last to condign Punishment, to let the World see and know, that Rebellion is criminal, even when it is prosperous; and tho' God may forbear for some time to punish, yet he always does it justly at last: For tho' God hath leaden Feet, and is slow in punishing, yet he hath Iron Hands, and strikes home in the End: And here, that some Compensation might be made for the Loss of the Royal Father, which was irreparable, God gave the Crown to his eldest Son. It is most certain, that King *Charles II.* at his first coming to the Throne, had most reconciling Thoughts, who gave large Evidence of them,

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after so high a Distemper, and such a universal shaking the Foundations of Government, desiring and commanding his Parliament to take Care to repair the Breaches, and to use such Circumspection and Industry, as might provide things necessary for strengthening those Repairs, and to prevent for the future whatever might disturb or weaken the common Interest; recommending to his Parliament a general Union, as the best, if not the only Way for their own Security, and the Happiness of the whole Kingdom. This King, indeed, at his Restoration, was glorious in the Eyes of all his Subjects: Those great Deliverances which the divine Goodness had afforded to his royal Person from many imminent Dangers, and the Support which it gave to his heroick princely Mind, under such various Tryals, made it appear, that he was precious in God's Sight, and as Gold out of the Fire: He was restored to his People and Patrimony with more Splendor and Dignity, who had made a right Use of his Afflictions, and taken such Observations of other Countries, that he really intended to make all his Subjects the better for what he had seen and suffered abroad.

It is true, that, in the Beginning of this King's Reign, the Doctrine of the Court was, *Sow a little, that ye may reap much*; and those who were then entrusted with the Nation's Purse, were themselves for diving into the Prince's Pocket; and that too generous Prince, at his first coming to the Crown, was soon over-

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perswaded to give away the greatest Part of his Crown Lands. The Courtier begged, and the Citizen bought, and the King was soon divested of all; and yet they who suffered for his late royal Father, were not the better for all his immoderate Bounties. These his great Liberalities were not given as the Recompence of ancient Merit, but were bestowed either as Rewards of Vice, or Price of Treachery; so that the worst Men made the best Advantage: And tho' the King did then what was very prejudicial to the Crown; yet such was the flourishing Condition of the *English* at that time, that the People could bear a great deal of ill Management: Besides, some were glad to see a young King that would soon be necessitated by his extravagant Bounty to depend upon his People, who did then begin to apprehend, that the King did meditate an arbitrary Power. Now, whatever Ground the great Counsellours of those Times had, there was no Bar put in the Way of that destructive Bounty; but as ill-gotten Goods seldom prosper, very little of what was obtained remained long in the Hands of the first Possessor, but all was soon dispersed into a Multitude of Hands, and the Silence of those who then had a Right to complain, seemed in some measure to have justified such Proceedings: And tho' the King, being then young, airy and liberal, was much to blame for permitting such a Spoil to be made of his Revenue; yet they (whose Duty it was to take Care of the Body Politick) suffered the Distemper to proceed

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proceed too far; and what the King did was then winked at, because the Courtiers (who were nearest the King's Person) got all, and the great Trade and Wealth of the *English* might bear such Gifts, which were not then supplied by new and heavy Taxes, which the People after found excessive in a following Reign. However, this great Oversight of the King should teach wise Princes to distinguish betwixt those that serve them for their own Ends, and those that have only in their View the Interest and Honour of the King their Master: But we always see Compliance and Flattery get the better of Honesty and plain Dealing, Princes usually loving those best that dispute not with them, and prefer them before such as advise them really what is best for their Service. This kind of Flattery is a Plant so preserved in most Courts, that it never fails of bringing most dangerous Fruit, and Princes very seldom discover it, till it be too late, and that they are ruined by it. I must confess, it would be a great Advantage to Princes, and to their Subjects a great Happiness, to have plain Truths delivered to them with Decency and Privacy, from their most faithful Servants, whereby they might redress many Mistakes of their Judgments or Will; which brings to my Mind what *Tom Killigrew*, a Groom of the Bed-Chamber to King *Charles II.* said, as he was under his Barber's Hands: A Book being in the Window, in which *Killigrew* was looking, it being a Book of his own Plays, of which the King taking

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Notice, he asked him, *What Account he would give at the Day of Judgment, of all the idle Words in that Book? Why truly, says Killigrew, I shall give a better Account of all the idle Words in this Book, than your Majesty shall do of all your idle Promises, and more idle Patents, which have undone many; but my idle Words in this Book have undone no Person.* This was a bold and sharp Repartee; but the King being an indulgent Master, and not of a Disposition to do harsh things, gave *Killigrew* a great Liberty of Fooling; for otherwise he must needs have taken Notice of that bitter Reflection, which the King did not: But if the Substance of that Sarcasm had been told the King decently and privately, it might have had a good Operation; whereas what was spoken was then taken for a Jest only, and so the King passed it by. Now if we seriously reflect on the first Twelve Years of this King's Government, we shall not find in the like Space of Time, either at home or abroad, so great Plenty of all things for the Delight of Mankind, nor find so long a Time free from Injustice and Oppression, where the King and Lords did less oppress the Commons, and where there was so great a Condescension to tender Consciences: And if it be true, that as *Multa funera sunt opprobria Medicorum*, so *Multa supplicia sunt opprobria Principum*; it must be much for the Honour and Memory of this King, that in his first Twelve Years Government, there was not one Nobleman put to Death, and so few of all others at the Assizes, that

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that the like was never known in the Memory of Man; and yet impartial Justice was executed every where. I heartily wish I could have said the same to this King's Death, for then undoubtedly he would have been *CHARLES the Good*, tho' not *CHARLES the Great*.

But alas! there now began to be a great Vicissitude of good and bad Events, and a very unsettled and various Management of publick Affairs, and not with such a Steadiness of Conduct as the fresh Experience of our then late Misfortunes might have instructed those with Courage and Constancy that were entrusted with them: But those Ministers that then served the King at the Helm of his Government, were much to blame to suffer such things, which were quickly reduced to a most unhappy Condition, betwixt the King and his ill-natured obstinate Subjects then assembled in Parliament, that by his Majesty's condescending to some things, which seemed of little or no Consequence when first yielded unto, yet they were afterwards made the Foundation of a great Battery against the King's Authority, Reputation, and Strength of his Government: But it was our own Ingratitude under so many great Advantages we then enjoyed beyond other People, which drew those Judgments from Heaven upon us. I confess, the *Roman* Catholicks who were peaceable and innocent, suffered at this time many grievous Persecutions, which were not only permitted by the King, but his Parliament was encouraged therein, tho' the King

was not ignorant of their Innocence: Yet, to Persons that knew those Times, and how continually the King was teased by those ill-natured Gentlemen of the House of Commons, it will be the less Wonder, that such things should happen in the Days of such a Prince, who had so yielding a Nature as the King. 'Tis true, the great Persecutions which the Christians suffered under the good Reign of *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus* the Roman Emperor, were all imputed to him, how justly I cannot say; but our King did not only connive, but would often rally at the Extravagance of the House of Commons: And yet this I may truly say, that tho' he gave unlawful Permission to persecute the Roman Catholicks, whom he knew to be innocent; yet he always stood firm to keep the Succession of his Crown in its due and lawful Descent, and would never yield to have it altered, tho' he was pressed very violently to it, by great Artifices, which made him often prorogue Parliaments, and the King continued resolute in this Point, even to his Death.

In June 1672, Mr. *Borell* the Holland Minister, was with his Majesty, and desired the Admission of four Deputies from the States General, to know what the King desired, and said as many were appointed for *France*; but the King refused their Admission, and said, he would do nothing without the Participation of his Allies; However, he would be so generous as to do what he could that lay in his Power, and then named the Lord *Hallifax* his Envoy

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Extraordinary to the King of *France*, and would send him to confer with that King upon their Proposals, and it was said he should go thro' *Holland*, and take Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* with him.

The Sixteenth of *January* following, the Duke of *Buckingham* had the same Censure from the House of Commons as the Duke of *Lauderdale* had, to be both banished from the King's Presence for ever: Whereupon the Duke of *Buckingham* desired to be heard in the House of Commons, which was granted to him, and his Business was to lay all the Blame upon the Earl of *Arlington*, who also answered in the House, and behaved himself so well, that he got immortal Reputation, to be a Man of Ability, Prudence, Conduct, and of great Temper, and so escaped the Censure of the House.

About this time the *Marquis de Fresno*, Ambassador Extraordinary from *Spain*, presented to the King a very warm Memorial, menacing a War, unless the King would embrace a Peace with *Holland*, upon these Three Points. The First was, The Flag to Content, with Eight Hundred Thousand Pattacoons, and the mutual Restitution of Places and Prizes taken in *Europe*: To which his Majesty returned this following Answer.

That, if they would add a Promise to regulate the *East India* Trade, give Liberty of Departure to the *English* at *Surinam*, and not to Fish on the *English* Coast without Permission; as to his Majesty, he would be content: But

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that the Place of Treaty must be *Cologne*, and Respect paid to the Mediation of *Sweden*, which could not be avoided, because it was accepted by all: But because his Majesty's Answer to the said Memorial may be fully seen, I shall here repeat it, which was sent to me by the Lord *Arlington* then Secretary of State.

His Majesty having seen and considered a Memorial delivered to him by his Excellency the Marquis de Fresno, Ambassador Extraordinary from the Catholick King, bearing Date the 20th of December Instant, commands this Answer to be made thereunto.

THAT he was not a little surprized to find the Contents of this Paper confirmed to him the Report of a Treaty made betwixt the King his Master and the States General of the United Provinces, the Assisting of whom in this War was a manifest Breach of the separate Article in the Treaty betwixt the two Kings, binding them reciprocally, not to assist each other's Enemies in any open War: And his Majesty's Wonder thereupon hath been the greater, that the Treaty with the States General was never owned to him by the Ambassador himself, or by any other Spanish Minister; and that his Excellency was pleased to look upon it (when the Rumour thereof came first abroad) as a malicious Invention of the Enemies of the King of Spain, diffused only to create a Misunderstanding betwixt his Majesty and that Crown: Whereas now it seemed

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to be a real Thing, and does no less, according to the Tenor of the said Memorial, than threaten a War to his Majesty, if he will not submit himself to Conditions imposed upon him by his declared Enemies: Notwithstanding which, his Majesty esteems himself in some Degree beholden to the Catholick Queen, for having imparted to him the Terms and Conditions upon which the States General of the United Provinces will be content to make a Peace; since, in so many Months that his Majesty's Plenipotentiaries have been at Cologne, their Deputies could never be brought to make a clear Declaration of any Offers they would stand to, but held them still under such Ambiguities, as they might at all times recede from them as they should see Cause.

Now, altho' the Conditions offered in the said Memorial are very small, in respect of the great Expence of Blood and Treasure that War hath cost; yet, that the World may see how desirous his Majesty is to contribute to the general Peace of Christendom, he declares he will be contented with any reasonable Conditions for a Peace suitable to his Honour, and the Interest of his Subjects.

The Offers made in his Excellency's Name are,
First, The Flag to be adjusted to his Majesty's Satisfaction.

Secondly, A reciprocal Restitution of Places and Prizes that are, or may have been taken, during the late War.

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Thirdly, *The Sum of Eight Hundred Thousand Pattacoons.*

Now, if the States General will extinguish their Pretences to the Restitution of Prizes, as a Thing impracticable, and never insisted upon in any Treaty of Peace, and to the above-named Offers add these additional ones, which cannot well be denied:

First, An equal and reciprocal Regulation of Trade in the East Indies, as was promised particularly in the late Treaty of Bredah.

Secondly, Leave to his Majesty's Subjects yet detained at Surinam, to depart thence, with their Estates and Effects, pursuant to the said Treaty, and their own reiterated Promises and Orders.

Thirdly, That the States General shall, for the future, abstain from Fishing upon the Coasts and Shores of any of his Majesty's Dominions, without Leave and Passport first obtained:

His Majesty declares, that, as to himself, he will be content with these Conditions. But, because the Wording of the Articles thereupon is of equal Moment to the Things that shall be contained in them, and that this cannot be effected but by Persons equally intrusted and empowered on both Sides, his Majesty farther declares, That he will direct his Plenipotentiaries at Cologne, to apply themselves, together with the Deputies of the States General, thereupon,
with

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with the Mediators of the Crown of Sweden; who having been accepted and authorized on both Sides, and the City of Cologne having been insisted upon by the Dutch, to the Mediators, for the Place of Treaty; his Majesty conceiveth, that neither the Place nor the Mediators can be declined, without a notorious Offence to the Parties concerned, and more particularly to the Honour of the Crown of Sweden. And his Majesty assureth himself, that this his Proceeding will appear so fair and equal to the Catholick Queen, as not to lessen in any Degree, in her royal Breast, the Esteem she professes to have for his Friendship and Alliance, which his Majesty hath ever used, to his utmost Endeavour, to cultivate and improve; particularly, in making himself the principal Interest of the two Peaces of Portugal and Aix la Chapelle, so valuable to the Crown of Spain, in the Minority of their King; and in continuing the Peace between France and Spain from any Violation or Disturbance by this present War, as he did in the Treaty made with the most Christian King, when he entered into the Union and Confederation with him, against the States General of the United Provinces.

Given at the Court at Whitehall, the Fifteenth of December 1673.

Signed

ARLINGTON.

Upon

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Upon this Memorial, many Members of Parliament had the States Generals Reply to his Majesty's Answer to the Memorial, sent inclosed to them in Print, before the King had received the Original. Sir *William Coventry* had four Copies sent him in several Pacquets, which he forthwith carried to the Lord Keeper, and his Lordship to the King; by which may be seen what incongruous things the States General suffered, who endeavoured to dethrone his Majesty, by their Appeal to his People, without taking Notice of the King. The Original of this Reply of the States General was sent to his Excellency the *Marquis de Fresno*, who thought it too scandalous for him to offer, and sent it back to the States with great Indignation: But towards the End of *January*, his Excellency presented a Letter from the States General to the King, wherein they granted Five of the Six Points in a full Manner, but they refused any Acknowledgment for the Fishing. The Ninth of *February* following, the Peace betwixt *England* and *Holland* was Signed and Sealed by the *Spanish* Ambassador, as Plenipotentiary for *Holland*, and by six Privy-Counsellours on the *English* Side, viz. The Lord Keeper, the Lord High Treasurer, Duke of *Monmouth*, Duke of *Ormond*, with the two principal Secretaries of State. The Scope of the Peace was as follows.

The Treaty of *Breda* remains firm, the Marine Treaty confirmed for Nine Months, and that Commissioners should presently meet to

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regulate the *East India* Trade, in which Regulation *Spain* to be left the Umpire, as it is the Guaranty of the whole Treaty; *New-York* to be restored; the *English* to come from *Surinam*; Eight Hundred Thousand Pattacoons to be paid in the Time specified; the *Dutch* Ships to strike in the *British* Seas, from Cape *Fenestre* to the *Naze* in *Norway*: An Article for hindering each from succouring the Enemies of the other; but no mention is made of the Fishing, that remaining in the same Condition it formerly was. *France* seemed much displeased at this Peace; but it was believed his Majesty of *England* would interpose as Mediator, which was not what most *Englishmen* desired, who would gladly see *France* reduced to the Treaty *Pyrrhenean*. The Peace betwixt *England* and *Holland* being thus settled, the *Spanish* Ambassador took Leave of his Majesty, and embarked on the *Assistance* Frigate, commanded by Sir *Richard Munden*, and *Don Emanuel de Lyra* was named Envoy in the Ambassador's Place; and I think it a Right owing to my Lord *Arlington*, to insert here a true Translation of the Letter which the *Spanish* Ambassador wrote from *St. André* in *Spain*, bearing Date the 30th of *August* 1674, which was sent me by the Lord *Arlington*.

Most Excellent Sir,

Gratitude will not permit me to lose any Occasion of manifesting the same, which I now do by the Return of Sir *Richard Munden*; for the Honours done me by his Majesty of Great Britain,

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Britain, have been so singular, and have raised me so much Esteem and Glory, that my Obligation is not to be expressed; so that I must beseech your Excellency to lay my Duty at his Majesty's Feet, and to acquaint him of my Arrival in Spain, which hath been with so prosperous and remarkable a Voyage, that on the fifth Day in the Morning we discovered the Coast of Biscay; and had I intended to go to the Groyn, we had been there that Day. In this Dispatch I must attribute much to the great Care and Dexterity of our Captain, and to his very courteous Usage of me, the better supporting all the Trouble which the Inconveniences of the Sea would give a sick Man: And for all this I pay to his Majesty (unto whose Grandeur it is due) infinite Thanks, and shall still publish to the World my Sense and Acknowledgments of All; and for the Friendship and Favour which I owe to your Excellency, I shall always correspond with the sincerest Truth and Passion I am able. God preserve your Excellency. From St. André, August 30. 1674.

But before I go farther, I will give an Account how I came to these honourable Employments on this Side the Sea.

Be pleased then to know, that, at the Lord Wentworth's Death, which happened a little before the Burning of London, I was, by the King's Command signified to me by the Lord Arlington, Principal Secretary of State, appointed to take Care of his Funeral, and the Manner of it was then prescribed me. His
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Lordship was a Privy-Counsellour, Collonel of the First Regiment of Foot Guards, and was before Major General of all the Horse in *England*, and General of the Horse in the West of *England*, and, at his Death, was Gentleman of his Majesty's Bed-chamber. When I had carried his Body in State, as the King commanded, to *Teddington* in *Bedfordshire*, to be buried with his Ancestors, and that I returned to *London*, the Bills of the Charges of the Funeral were brought to me, which I gave the Lord *Arlington*; but Money being then very rare, and the King no very good Paymaster, the Merchants expected their Money from me; and the Lord *Wentworth* having received some Money from me, which was due to some Companies of the Regiment, the Captains thereof complaining that their Companies were not paid, the Matter was left to be adjusted by the Duke of *Albemarle*, who was General. The Merchants being very importunate for their Money, I thought best to retire, and came to *Bruges* in *Flanders*, where many *English* Officers coming daily, I was soon discovered, and taken Prisoner, and at first was used very hardly by the Jayler, who had Orders to keep me in his own Apartments, to eat and drink with him, and that I should have Ten Shillings *English* daily allowed me, for Diet, Lodging, and all Necessaries, which should be paid before I was released; and Sir *Mark d'Ogniati* (who was of *Bruges*) and at that time Resident for the King of *Spain* at *London*, engaged to see all punctually paid.

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When my Circumstances were better known, I was used very well; and it being then that the King of *France* began his Pretensions upon *Flanders*, in Right of the *Dauphin*, and many *Spanish* Officers being then in *Bruges*, I had every Day much Company, and knew all that passed in the Army, of which I gave an Account each Post to the Earl of *Arlington*, who being then Principal Secretary of State, shewed my Letters to the King, who being pleased with them, asked the Lord *Arlington*, who sent those Letters? who thereupon told his Majesty, that he had them from me, who was then a Prisoner in *Bruges*: Whereupon the King presently answered, that he had seen no Letters that pleased him so much, and that gave so clear Accounts; and that if I could give such Accounts in Prison, I should give much better when out: And therefore the King bid his Lordship take Care, that I should be forthwith released, and sent over to him; tho' his Majesty knew I was at that time reconciled, and made a *Roman* Catholick, by Father *John Cross*, who was President at *Douay*, and at that time Confessor to the *English* Nuns in the Prince's Hofse at *Bruges*. Upon this Intimation from the King, Sir *Mark d'Ogniati* was desired by the Lord *Arlington* to write to *Bruges*, what the Account came to for my Imprisonment, and all Necessaries, and that all should be suddenly paid; upon which the Jayler came to tell me the good News: But I told him I was very well where I was, and being out of Danger, that I had a
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very good Allowance, and could no where live so well, and that I would not stir from Prison, unless, after paying all the Charges, I might have Money to put me in Equipage, and then I would willingly and faithfully serve the King: That from my Scituation in Prison I could see the Vanity and Hurry of the World, where miserable Men were daily distracting themselves in wearisom contentious Wars, about the Greatness of an empty World; and I could look safely upon them, never intermeddling with the Actions of others, but spend my Thoughts in my own little Sphere, and lay down my Head in Peace, and sleep securely in the Bosom of Providence. Within few Days after I had given this Account, Money was sent to pay all the Charges of the Prison, with One Hundred Pounds *Sterling* to put me in good Equipage; the Return of Money being then very high, and much to my Advantage, I received what was ordered, and was forthwith released from Prison.

So soon as I was at Liberty, I went to the Earl of *Castlehaven*, and knowing he had a great Influence upon *Don Pedro de Ronquillos*, who was Super-Intendant at *Brussels*, I desired he would speak to *Don Pedro* in my Behalf, that I might be Auditor to the *Scotch* Regiment of Foot; which Place was then vacant, and the Regiment was National, commanded by Colonel *Scot* of *Tekelab*, Kinsman to the Duke of *Monmouth*. Hereupon his Lordship recommended me to *Don Pedro*, who was pleased to

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examine me, and finding me fit for the Employment, gave me his Certificate to the Constable of *Castile*, who was then Governour of the *Spanish Netherlands*, in Place of *Marquis Castle Roderigo*: But the Plague being then at *Brussels*, the Constable stayed at *Malines*, and, upon pretending much Indisposition of Health, desired he might return into *Spain*. However, he sent the *Marquis de Velasco* to compliment our King upon his coming to the Government, who sent Sir *Edward Spraign* to return his Compliment; and the Queen sent Mr. *Roper* on her Part. So soon as the Plague ceased at *Brussels*, the Constable returned thither, where I found a Way to speak to him, and gave him *Don Pedro's* Certificate, with a *Placet* from my self, and had his Excellency's Promise of Dispatch, which he performed the next Day, to the great Admiration of all the *Commis* in the Secretary's Office, that I being a Stranger could get my Business so soon done, when many General Officers of the Army had been waiting some Months without Dispatch. Thus I presently got the Auditor's Place, and had the Constable's Patent for it; and when the Constable, upon his own importunate Desire, returned for *Spain*, I was then garrisoned in the *Fauxburgs* of *Ghent*, and we had Orders not to beat any Drums, or to make the least Noise whilst the Constable passed in his Barque.

Upon the Constable's going for *Spain*, the *Count de Monterrey*, who was *Master de Camp* of a *Spanish* Regiment, was made Governour

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pro Interim, and was after confirmed Governour General of the *Spanish Netherlands*, where he continued six Years, and was the best Governour I ever saw in them. He paid the Soldiers Ten Months in the Year, kept the Country in very good Order, so that there was no Fear of Robbery; but it cost the Lives of many Men, and I have seen Fifteen or Sixteen hanging together upon the Canal, betwixt *Brussels* and *Willibrook*, for Robberies committed there.

Not long after Count *Monterrey's* coming to the Government of *Flanders*, the Congress was appointed at *Cologne*. The Plenipotentiaries for our King were Sir *Leoline Jenkins*, Judge of our Admiralty, and Sir *Joseph Williamson*, from both which I received Letters to go to the *Hague*, to buy some Horses and Coaches for them; and I was particularly recommended by them to Monsieur *Marine*, First Esquire to the Prince of *Orange*, to take his Opinion and Advice in the Choice of them. I was to buy two Setts of Eight Horses for each Coach, and the Coaches likewise, if I could get them good and cheap: After which I was desired to meet them at *Antwerp*, in their Way to the Congress, which I did according to their Directions. At their coming to *Antwerp*, they sent me to find the Duke of *Monmouth* and Sir *William Lockart*, who were then with the King of *France*, at a House belonging to the King of *Spain*, Three Miles from *Brussels*. I there found the aforementioned Persons with the King, who was then marching to besiege *Maestricht*.

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The Duke of *Monmouth* was made a Lieutenant General in the King's Army, and Sir *William Lockhart* was our King's Ambassador with the *French* King. At my Return to the Plenipotentiaries, I waited upon them to *Cologne*, and after came back to *Brussels*, where I was employed several times by their Excellencies, betwixt *England* and *Cologne*, upon great Occasions, and was ordered by them to hold a strict Correspondence with Mr. *Neipho*, who lived then at *Antwerp*, and was ordered to serve our Plenipotentiaries in all he could.

At this time I found the Count *Monterrey* was no Friend to our Plenipotentiaries, nor indeed to our Master, or his Interest, in any Case, and was particularly a great Friend to the Capers at *Ostend*, which Nest of Pyrates did much Hurt to our *English* Merchants, seizing all *English* Ships they could find trading with *France*, tho' their Trade was freely allowed by the Treaty of 1667, solemnly ratified by both Crowns: But the Count *Monterrey* would not allow that Treaty, because he said it was never published in *Flanders*, which was their own Fault, for the Ratification, not the Publication, makes all Treaties effectual: And yet our King bore all these Affronts with incredible Patience, expecting that the Count *Monterrey* would better inform himself, both of the Matters of Fact, and of the Law; for certainly the Articles of that Treaty were so plain and clear in the Point, that the Case was adjudged, as soon as compared with the Terms of the Treaty; and the King

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was still in Hopes, that the Count would be made sensible of the unsufferable Affront, as well as the Injustice of such Proceeding of the Privateers was to his Majesty, even to such a Degree, that his Majesty was thinking of another Way to right his Subjects, if sudden Reparation came not by fair Means.

Neither was the Count *Monterrey* only refractory in this, but was highly displeased at my being employed by the Plenipotentiaries at *Cologne*, and told Father *Patrick* (who was then called Abbot of *Tbuly*) that there was a little *Englishman* (whose Name he knew not) that was employed by the Ambassadors at *Cologne*, of which Father *Patrick* gave me Notice, and said, that, by the Description, he was almost confident that his Excellency meant me: And the next Day, as I was going to Dinner, at the *Great Looking-Glass* in the *Berge Street*, where I lodged, a Servant told me, there was a Gentleman without that would speak with me. Whereupon I went out to him, and told him, I was just going to Dinner. He said, he was Adjutant to his Excellency, and that I must presently go with him. Upon which I desired his Leave to go into my Chamber, to put on another Peruke, and that a Coach should be made ready in the mean time, and so I would go with him. When I came to Court, I met Viscount *Berlin* (who was then Governour of *Brussels*) in the Anti-Chamber, who told me his Excellency was in the next Room, and would speak a Word with me; and thereupon

led me in to his Excellency, who asked me three or four Questions before I could answer him one of them: As, what I did at *Brussels*, why I went so often to *Cologne* and *England*? I told him, I was employed by the *English* Ambassadors at *Cologne*, to receive and send their Letters; and that I should wait upon his Excellency in few Days, to get an *Escorte* to carry some things from *England* to the Plenipotentiaries. To which his Excellency replied, That if what I said was true, *Antwerp* was a fitter Place for me than *Brussels*, and that he would not permit my longer Stay at *Brussels*. To which I answered, That there being no open War declared between *England* and *Spain*, and so long as I obeyed the Laws of the Country, it was lawful for me to stay: And besides, that I was indebted in my Lodging, and could not go till I had satisfied All. In fine, his Excellency told me, these were only Excuses which I made, and commanded Viscount *Berlin*, that the Adjutant should see me go out of Town that Night, and that *Antwerp* was a much fitter Place for me than *Brussels*; and so I left his Excellency, and went presently to Father *Patrick*, who lived near the Court, to inform him of what had happened, and desired him to send to Mr. *Chaumont* for my Letters, and open them in my Absence, and then send them to me at Mr. *Neipho's* at *Antwerp*.

The next Day the Letters came, and one from Sir *Robert Southwell* to me, giving an Account of the Peace signed that Day in Council,
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he being then Clerk of the Council. He told me, the Writings were scarce dry upon the Council Table; but however, he thought necessary to give me a speedy Account of it, for the Information of others. Father *Patrick* carried this Letter in his Pocket late on *Saturday* Night, and said, he came to give his Excellency Joy of the Peace that was made in *England*. His Excellency answered, it was true that the Peace was made, and that he was very angry with the *Marquis de Fresno*, who told him, he had been all that Day in Council, and was so weary, that he could not give him an Account till the next Post, of all the Particulars. Whereupon Father *Patrick* said, he would shew him all the Particulars, which his Excellency was very desirous to see; and having perused them, he desired to know from whom he had them; and the Father told him, that Sir *Robert Southwell* had sent them to the Gentleman he had sent to *Antwerp*, who had given him Leave to open his Letters in his Absence, and to send them to him. His Excellency presently said, *I know Sir Robert Southwell to be a very honest Man, and well inclined to us; and if the Gentleman I sent to Antwerp keeps a Correspondence with him, I believe he may be honest also; and therefore I pray send for him back, and let him bring his little Horse with him, of whom I have heard great Miracles.* On Monday I came back, and his Excellency sent for Mr. *Chicati* (who was Master of the Academy at *Brussels*). to ride the Horse round the Park, and to give him an

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Account of the Horse, who gave such an Account of him, that his Excellency would by all Means buy the Horse of me. I told him, I could not sell him; but if his Excellency would please to accept of him, with his *English* Equipage, I would present him; but he refused to have him, unless he might buy him, and so I saved my Horse and my Honour also. But I must not forget to do Father *Patrick* this Right, that upon his Excellency's commanding me from *Brussels*, he forthwith wrote Word of it to the Lord *Arlington*, and what Danger I did run, by being employed without a Commission. But whilst I was at *Cologne*, I received this Letter following from our Ambassadors Plenipotentiaries, bearing Date in the Afternoon of the 12th of July 1673.

Good Mr. Bulstrode,

IT hath been our great Unhappiness, that Mr. Frances took his Leave of this Place this Morning, without receiving from Mr. Chudleigh (Secretary to our Embassy) those Dispatches which he had prepared for his Conveyance; so that he will appear to my Lord *Arlington* with his Hands in a manner empty. You are therefore desired to follow him Day and Night with the Pacquet which Mr. Chudleigh will deliver you, as fast as you can possibly, till you overtake him. It is of very great Importance to the Publick, and to us in particular. You are not to stop, tho' you follow him to Whitehall; and you are to put the Pacquet into his own Hands, without taking any

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any Notice of this Accident: And if he should be arrived, and shewed himself, and delivered his Letters, before you overtake him, you are (having shewed him this Letter from us) to leave it to his Direction, to excuse this Accident as well as he can, and then you are to return hither, without taking any farther Notice of this Occasion. We are, Good Mr. Bulstrode,

Your very Affectionate Friends to serve you,

L. JENKINS.

JOS. WILLIAMSON.

Upon this emergent Occasion I got to *Antwerp* before Mr. *Frances*, tho' he parted from *Cologne* in the Morning, and I did not leave it till late in the Evening, and having shewed him my Letter from the Ambassadors, and given him all his other Dispatches, I hastened into *Flanders*, after I had taken a Turn into *Holland*, and visited all Places both by Land and Sea, and from thence I made a short Step into *England*, to give the King an Account of what I had seen, which I put into Writing so fully to his Majesty's Satisfaction, that he caused my Relation to be entered into the Council-Book; and having done this, I went to find my Brother *Henry*, who was very private in *London*, after having had the Misfortune to kill a *Suffex* Gentleman, his Neighbour, in a Duel (tho' with all the Fairness and Honour so unfortunate an Accident is capable to have said for it) and tho' wounded himself, yet he was so severely
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prosecuted, that he must leave *England*. Upon which Occasion, after serious Consideration of his Condition, I moved my Lord *Arlington* privately, to get his Majesty's Leave, that my Brother might go over with me into *Holland*, and I would undertake to place him where he should give his Lordship constant Accounts of what passed in those Parts worthy his Knowledge, and that by his great Diligence and Industry should merit his Majesty's Pardon, if not his Grace and Favour. But, in order to this, I did beg his Lordship, that a Letter might be written to the Master of the Pacquet-Boat at *Harwich*, not to let the Boat go off with the Letters till my Arrival, which should be with all Speed, and that none who came with me might be questioned, but that we might freely embark: Which being granted to me, I carried my Brother, where I placed him very well for his Majesty's Service, which he so punctually performed, that he did not only get the King's Pardon under the Great Seal, but did his Majesty such farther Service, that he was rewarded for it. From *Holland* I went into *Flanders* by the Way of *Sluys*, and dined with Monsieur *La Leok*, the Governour, who was Brother to Monsieur *Odybe* of *Zealand*. From *Flanders* I went to *Brussels*, where I was not many Days before I received a Patent from the King, to be his Agent at the Court at *Brussels*, with a civil Letter to the Governour, the Count de *Monterrey*, telling him, that for some particular Reasons he had not thought fit to send me those Powers sooner,

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tooner, which were antedated some Months before. Upon this I was very kindly received by his Excellency, and from that time acknowledged for the King's Minister, the greatest Cause of which, next to my Diligence in the King's Service, I must attribute to the Letter of Father *Patrick* to my Lord *Arlington*, upon my being commanded from *Brussels* by the *Count de Monterrey*, and at that time acting without a Commission. But I must not forget, that, at my Return to *Brussels*, I did dissuade Father *Patrick* from going into *England*, which before he had resolved to do, knowing it would not only be very prejudicial to the King, but very disadvantageous to the Lord *Arlington*, who at that time had many considerable Enemies, and that nothing was moved more strongly against him, than Father *Patrick's* lodging at his House in the *Park*, of which my Lord's Enemies made great Use: But his Lordship was so wise as to change the Pen for the White Staff, had the Golden Key delivered to him, and was declared Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household, and Sir *Joseph Williamson* was forthwith declared, and sworn Secretary of State in his Place, who sent the several Letters of Complaint, of the Violences committed upon our Merchants Ships, by the insolent Capers of *Ostend*, against whom we could never get any Justice done, during the Government of the *Count de Monterrey*, who would not own the Treaty of 1667, which was the Rule we were to go by, in all the Disputes between the *English* Merchants and the Capers,

Capers, which Treaty was solemnly ratified by both Crowns. Whereupon I received the following Letter from Sir Joseph Williamson, dated the 21st of September 1674, in these Words following.

Good Mr. Bullstrode,

IT is beyond Belief, to see with what intolerable Insolence the Capers of Ostend treat all the King's Subjects: The Treaty of Madrid in 1667 must be stood upon, it being express in the Point; and till the Count de Monterrey can have Time to consider and judge of it himself, 'tis but just he should issue but present Orders to the Admiralty, not to proceed in any of those Cases, till his farther Order; and that is the Point you must press immediately at Court, and get clear and full Proofs of all Wrongs, Injuries, and Threats done, or given out by them, against any Englishman, and demand Satisfaction of them, and at the same time certify them over hitber, that if Justice be denied there, the King may please to consider what he will farther do; and continue to press hard for speedy Justice in the Case of all seized Ships and Goods, and to get the Treaty of 1667 owned as the standing Rule in all those Concerns; and be sure to insist, that it hath been allowed in all Cases amongst us here in our Admiralty, as Sir Leoline Jenkins, Judge of that Court, hath assured me.

And the 14th of December following, I received this from him.

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Good Mr. Bulstrode,

IT is said now, that our People themselves, either out of Ignorance or Malice, have given the Ostenders great Advantages in several Cases, by confessing their carrying double Bills of Lading, and casting Papers overboard, with such like indecent Practices, which in all Times, and in all Countries, are reputed just Cause of Condemnation, as was practised in England in the Dutch Wars. If this be so, they may thank themselves if such Cases be given against them. But, upon the whole Matter, the Proceedings of the Capers should be straitly watched, and upon what Grounds the Sentences are pretended to be given, that so the Matter may be received and judged on this Side. In the mean time, it is manifest, that the King omits nothing that he can possibly and lawfully do for his Subjects, who are very unjust and ungrateful to his Majesty, to lay any Part of the Blame upon the King or his Ministers, as I hear some of them do. It is necessary for you to have an exact List of all Ships at any time carried up by the Ostenders, and I pray try to get one, with Affidavits of the most notorious of these Capers, for we may find a Way to meet with them, when they least think of it. I have sent you an Exemplar of the Treaty of 1667, by which it will appear, how notoriously their Proceedings are against the express Words of the Treaty. What the Secretary of his Excellency says, That the Way to prevent all Disputes, is to have a new Treaty made, is true;

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true; but we insist to have the present Treaty executed: And if any Cases now arise, wherein no Provision is yet made, it may not be improper to propose the having a Rule made for such Cases; but as far as the present Treaty reaches, That is to be our standing Rule. And as for the Ship with Plate on board, I see no Reason That should differ the Case, it coming from Tangier; and let the Goods be what they would (not being counterband) the Ship being English ought to free them: For, by the Treaty, an English Ship is at Liberty to carry all Goods (even to the Enemies of Spain, so they be not counterband) and there is to be no Inquiry into her Lading, all being free, the Ship being English.

You are, for the future, to expect Mr. Secretary Coventry's Orders in all Matters from the King, because you are now in his District, he having prevailed with his Majesty, that Brussels may be joined to his Province, being under the Spanish Government.

On the 22d of January 1674, I had this following Letter from Sir Joseph Williamson.

Good Mr. Bulstrode,

I Would lose no Time, upon the News of the Duc de Villa Hermosa's being the assured Successor to Count de Monterrey, to pay him my Compliments; and I beg, Sir, you will do me the Favour to deliver the inclosed, with the Offers of my humble Service, as one that has ever had a very particular Value and Honour for the Person

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Person and Merit of the Duke, and in Conformity to the Joy our Master hath at the Choice; assuring you, that the King hath a very good Opinion of the Duke; and I hope the King of Spain his Master may have Cause to be glad, by the good Effects it may produce during his Government.

Mr. Secretary Coventry wrote to me, That denying the Treaty of *Flanders* was of so great Concern, having been so long since ratified, that I should inform my self of the Count *de Monterrey*, before his Departure for *Spain*, whether he made any Scruple of owning it; of which I gave Mr. Secretary an Account, that his Excellency made Difficulty to acknowledge it. Whereupon Mr. Secretary answered, That he never thought it would have been a Question with the Governour of *Flanders*, whether a Treaty of universal Extent, made, signed, and ratified at *Madrid*, should be complied with in *Flanders*? For, if *Ostend* was in the King of *Spain's* Dominions, the Treaty reached it. Mr. Secretary, upon this, sent an Account to our Ambassador in *Spain*, not to intreat an Order, but to expostulate the Matter with that Crown, and the Secretary had for Answer, That they admired how his Excellency should make a Question of observing that Treaty, so nationally ratified as it was: That then they had sent Orders upon it, which before they could not have thought necessary. Count *Monterrey* did then, before his Departure, send

send a Letter to our King, to send over Captain *Berthold* (who was then Prisoner in *England*) to be tryed in *Flanders*; but his Majesty would not make such a Precedent against himself, as not to vindicate his Flag's Right against any thing that should affront it, when he finds them in his own Dominions, and would give this Answer to *Baron de Bergeyk*, whenever he should demand it. In the mean time, that what he wrote, was only to inform me of the State of the Thing, that if it should be discoursed by any of the Ministers, I might be furnished with Reasons to defend the Proceedings of my Master, but not as ordered so to do, but as of my self: That the *Count de Monterrey* was much misinformed in the Matter, the Captain's refusing to strike being witnessed by the whole Sloop's Crew, both Officers and Soldiers: That this was done with reproachful Terms, commanding our Captain to strike in the Name of the King of *Spain*, (an Insolence never committed before, and against the Peace betwixt the two Crowns) and pyratically forced away the *English* Ship, being under the King's Flag, in our own Channel: That this being the Case, and the Offender taken on the King's Ground (the Isle of *Wight*) there could be no more Question of the King's Right to try this Man, than if he had come and robbed in the *Thames*: That I might likewise say, that Captain *Berthold* and his Comerades have been tryed by a Jury of Twelve Men, Half of which (according to our Law) were Aliens, and found Guilty, and

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have received their Sentence, and have humbly petitioned the King, for a Release of their Imprisonment, to which the King hath consented, and hath given Order accordingly; and that the Matter of the Flag, upon the Insult offered to Mr. Porter, his Majesty's Envoy to the *Duc de Villa Hermosa*, which Insult was before *Ostend*, was laid by till the Arrival of *Don Pedro de Ronquillos*, who was daily expected, his Goods being already come.

About this time I had a Letter from Sir *Joseph Williamson*, wherein he told me, he was sorry to hear of nothing but Words in the Business of our Ships: That Provocations were rather daily renewed, than any Satisfaction given, and even Insults of a higher Nature: That *Don Francisco Marco de Velasco*, Envoy from the *Duc de Villa Hermosa* to compliment the King upon his coming to the Government of *Flanders*, had taken his Leave, and *Don Pedro de Ronquillos* was daily expected as Envoy Extraordinary from *Spain*, who had promised to begin his Business with that of the *English* Ships carried up by the *Ostenders*; which was become so clamorous a Cause, that, without some speedy Reparation, no body knew what would follow. That indeed the Insolence of those *Capers* was intolerable; and not only those, but the *Majorcans* in the *Mediterranean*, were grown insupportable, by the Number of Complaints brought daily to the King, for which he had commanded his Ambassador at *Madrid*, to declare, that if speedy and effectual Reparation

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tion were not made, his Majesty could not longer withstand the thing, and that it would be impossible to deny Letters of Reprisal to so many crying Cases of his Subjects that called for them: That, it happening that the Yacht which carried Mr. *Porter*, his Majesty's Envoy to return the Compliment of the *Duc de Villa Hermosa*, coming before *Ostend*, met with a *Spanish* Man of War, which, according to Custom, he required to strike, and for that Purpose pierced his Rigging with some Shot; but the Man of War not only finally refused to strike, but at last gave the Yacht one Gun with a Bullet in it, which was resented as it ought to be, and put into a legal Way of examining first, and would after be proceeded in according to the ordinary Custom of the Law, as a Crime of a high Misdemeanor, and constantly punished as such by the Laws of our Kingdom; but because *Don Pedro de Ronquillos* was soon expected at *London*, this Business would be deferred till his Arrival.

Being informed by a Person of Honour at *Brussels*, that the *Count de Monterrey* would return into *Spain* by the Way of *France*, because his Excellency thought his Presence would not be acceptable to our King, I did thereupon acquaint Mr. Secretary *Coventry* with it, who told me, That having acquainted the King with what I wrote, his Majesty was much surprized, not knowing the Cause for such a Jealousy: That it was true, the daily Complaints made by his Subjects, of the ill Treatments they received
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from *Ostend*, and the small or no Satisfaction that he had received, notwithstanding the reiterated Letters of his Majesty, did much displease him: But, as to the Person of his Excellency, the King had no particular Dissatisfaction; but, on the contrary, if his Excellency pleased to see *England* in his Return, he needed no way doubt of receiving Respects suitable to his Quality, and high Employment he had in *Flanders*. However, the *Count de Monterrey* did not think fit to pass thro' *England* in his Return, but went thro' *France*.

In *September* following, the King wrote a Letter to the *Duc de Villa Hermosa*, which was sent to me from *Windsor*, to be delivered, which being faithfully translated from the *French*, runs thus in *English*.

My Cousin,

I Have a great Regret to write to you upon the Complaints of my Subjects, but that I am daily importuned concerning the Hindrance of their Commerce and Navigation coming from the Ports under Obedience of his Catholick Majesty. That which I shall at present tell you, is of a double Affront by two Privateers of *Ostend* (the one commanding a Frigate of Twelve Guns, with Two Hundred Men, the other of Six Guns, with One Hundred Men) offered to me as well as my Subjects. A small Ship carrying my Colours, and having in Convoy a Galliot Merchant belonging to London, meeting with the said two Privateers, about the Height of my Island of *Guernsey*,

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gave them usual Notice to strike, which they did not only refuse, but by an unheard of Insolence, commanded my Ship to strike to them, and to compleat their Outrage, took the said Merchant, and carried it to Ostend. You may well judge, that this Proceeding is not agreeable to Friends and Allies: And therefore having represented it to you, I believe you will give your Orders for the Punishment of these sort of People, as well in this, as in all others of the like Nature, as my Agent at Brussels shall from time to time inform you of, that I may have no Cause to complain farther, but leave my self to your Justice in this Affair, and in all others to your Care, for Preservation of the Amity between me and the Catholick King, which shall be ever dear to me from,

*My Cousin,
Your Affectionate Cousin,*

CHARLES R.

I received a Letter from Mr. Secretary Coventry, dated the 9th of November (Old Style) in these Words following.

Good Mr. Bulstrode,

TO morrow the Earls of Arlington and Ossory are to embark for the Hague. The Suddenness of the Journey gives great Jealousy of a Treaty of Peace, of which there is nothing, that remaining wholly under the Conduct of Sir William Temple; and they have no Character

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rather but their own Titles, and are purely sent to the Prince of Orange. The Merchants who have Interest in the Ship St. George of London, have made their Complaints to the King and Council, and his Majesty is resolved to speak roundly about it to the Baron de Bergeyk, when he comes: But in the mean time it will surely be very proper for the Merchants concerned, that by your Intercession they should have true Copies of the Proofs and Reason of the Judgment, which cannot in Reason be denied them, which I will send to the Judge of our Admiralty; and if there be real Exceptions in Point of Law, Matter of Fact being stated on both Sides, our Business will go on much more formally, and the King make his Complaints upon a more solid Ground, than the bare Allegation of the Merchants interested, upon whose Complaint the Council would advise nothing positive, tho' they were very sensible of the Injustice. In the Interim I am commanded by his Majesty, that you should exhibit the State of the Case to the Ministers at Brussels, and demand in his Majesty's Name, that either the Fact be avowed or else disproved, by letting you see the authentick Document of the Court; and the King will, upon a true State of the Matter, consider how to redress such of his Subjects, as have truly been wronged contrary to the Treaty of 1667: And as for such who by their own Folly, in carrying double Cockets, and other forbidden Ways, have brought themselves into those Streights, they must be content with such Misfortunes as they bring upon themselves.

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Selves by their own ill Conduct. I have sent the Merchants concerned, with the State of their Case, to the Count de Bergeyk, and I desire to hear from you, how he does report it at Brussels, and what Success they are like to have.

I received a Letter dated at *Whitehall*, the 5th of *February* 1674, from Mr. Secretary *Coventry*, in these Words.

Good Mr. Bulstrode,

THO' we are in Peace with all the World, as with Spain, yet all the Ships of France, Holland, and all the rest of Europe, do not give us the tenth Part of that Trouble that the King of Spain's Dominions do. But I hope your new Governour will repair the Grievances our Merchants have long been under; and I shall be very glad his good Inclinations, with those which Don Pedro de Ronquillos expresses towards our Merchants, might appear, and that we shall receive some Satisfaction therein; and that the good Assurances the Duc de Villa Hermosa giveth us, will appear by the Effects. You may assure the Duke, that my own Inclinations to keep all things quiet, are sufficiently known; but the Mockeries and Prevarications of the Spanish Ministers cannot be longer palliated, Reprisals are granted by the Treaty, after Justice sought any long Time; and whether that hath not been denied, and the Time reasonable for Satisfaction escaped,

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escaped, let the World judge. I am very concernedly

Your Humble Servant,

H. COVENTRY.

At last, after many Letters from Mr. Secretary Coventry, and reiterated Addresses of mine, we obtained this ensuing Order from his Excellency, which being faithfully translated out of *Spanish*, runs thus, being signed by the *Duc de Villa Hermosa*, and by his Secretary, *Turietta*.

LET the ancient Order be observed, which is to give Communication unto both Parties, of the Proofs, and of all other Documents of the Process, which I do not only command should be executed in that which is under Consultation, concerning the Ship *St. George* of London, but also in all other Processes which the Admiralty Council may have withdrawn, or henceforth shall withdraw to their Board: And I do likewise ordain, That this Resolution shall serve as a Rule for all Times: And I do also ordain, That, in all Suits which shall happen with the Subjects of his Majesty of Great Britain, the Treaty of the Year 1667 be observed; and that it be the Law by which be judged, not only the depending Processes, but those also which may offer hereafter. And I do likewise command the Council, before Sentence be pronounced, to consult me in all such Suits which are now de-

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pending between the Privateers of Ostend, and the Subjects of the King of Great Britain; in the Decision whereof, all the Votes, as well of the Counsellours as of the Associates, shall not be conformable; and that each one of those that shall have given their Votes, do respectively express the Reasons upon which they ground their Opinion, the Plurality of Votes notwithstanding. And whereas it is convenient for the Service of the King our Master, and for the good Administration of Justice, that all the Suits now depending be finished with all Speed, I do order the Council to apply themselves with particular Care, to the avoiding superfluous and frivolous Delays, and to meet every Day, that no Time be lost in Decision of Affairs of so high a Consequence.

Dated at Brussels, 1675. Signed by the Duc de Villa Hermosa, Conde de Luna, &c.
By Order from his Excellency Signed underneath,

TURIETTA.

About this time the Earl of Shaftsbury wrote the following Letter to my Lord Carlisle, dated the 29th of March 1675.

My Lord,

I Very much approve of what my Lord Mordaunt and you told me you were about, and should, if I had been in Town, readily have joined with you, and, upon the least Notice have come up; for it's certainly all our Duties, and particularly mine, who have borne such Offices under the Crown,

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Crown, to improve any Opportunity of a good Correspondence and Understanding between the Royal Family and the People; and to leave it impossible for the King to apprehend, that we stand upon any other Terms that are not as good for him, as necessary for us: Neither can we fear to be accounted Undertakers at the next Meeting of Parliament; for I hope it shall never be thought unfit for any Number of Lords to give the King privately their Opinion, when asked, which in former Days, thro' all the Northern Kingdoms, nothing of great Moment was acted by their Kings, without the Advice of the most considerable and active Nobility, that were within Distance, tho' they were not of the ordinary Privy-Council; such Occasions being not always of that Nature as did require the Assembling the great Council, or Parliament. Besides, there are none so likely as us, nor Time so proper as now, to give the only Advice I know truly serviceable to the King, affectionate to the Duke, and secure to the Country (which is a new Parliament) which I do undertake at any time to convince your Lordship, is the clear Interest of all them. But, in the mean time, I must beg yours and my Lord Mordaunt's Pardon, that I come not up as I intended, for I hear from all Quarters, of Letters from Whitehall, that do give Notice, that I am coming up to Town, that a great Office with a strange Name is preparing for me, and such like. I am ashamed I was thought so easy a Fool by those who should know me better: But I assure your Lordship, there's no Place or Con-
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dition will invite me to Court, during this Parliament, nor until I see the King thinketh frequent Parliaments as much his Interest, as they are the People's Right; For until then, I can neither serve the King as I could, nor think a great Place safe enough for a second Adventure. When our great Men have tried a little longer, they will be of my Mind; in the mean time, no kind of Usage shall put me out of that Duty and Respect I owe to the King and Duke: But I think it would not be amiss, for the Men that are in great Offices, who are at Ease, and where they would be, to be ordinarily civil to a Man in my Condition, since, they may be assured, that all their great Places put together shall not buy me from my Principles. My Lord, I beseech you to impart this to the Earl of Salisbury, my Lord of Falconbridge, and my Lord Hollis; and when you four command me up, I will obey. I am sorry my Lord Hallifax had no better Success in his Summer's Negotiation, and that his Uncle Sir William could make no nearer Approach to the Ministers of State, than the Kissing of the King's Hand: I fear it is fatal to his Lordship to go so far, and no farther. My Dear Lord,

I am most Affectionately and Sincerely

Your Lordship's most Devoted Servant.

In September 1675, Mr. Secretary Coventry wrote me this ensuing Letter.

Good

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Good Mr. Bulstrode,

I Understand that Don Pedro de Ronquillos, and the Sieur Decio, are come in Commission to Ostend, and have made Bargains with some particular Merchants, by way of Composition (tho' nothing concluded with his Majesty as to Right) but these very Bargains and Contractions made with them by Don Pedro and Decio, who is a Burgher of Ostend, are neither respected nor regarded; and if these Affronts are done and maintained by Order from the King of Spain, we must look upon it as a Violation of the Treaty: But if it be done by Particulars that will not give Obedience to his Catholick Majesty, nor Satisfaction to us, I hope we shall not be blamed, if we right our selves by Reprisals, allowed by the Treaty against such, as both in Contempt of our King and their own, do impudently continue their Insolences. Sir, I pray you to assure his Excellency, that I have done my utmost to compose these Differences, but the no Satisfaction received, and the many Insolences since done, maketh it impossible to suffer any much longer Delay. The Parliament now approaches, and when the oppressed Merchants shall there tell their Story, I know what Reproaches will be uttered against those Ministers that have not been quicker in giving Remedies to these Violences. I am sorry, Sir, I can give you no other Answer upon this Matter; but without speedy Reparation, Reprisals cannot be gainsayed; and
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what will follow then, the Lord knows. I am,
Sir, with great Sincerity,
Your most Humble Servant,

H. COVENTRY.

About this time his Majesty gave me Leave to come into *England*, and sent the *Mary Yacht* to *Ostend* for me, and some time after the King was pleased to send me to *Brussels*, with this following Letter to his Excellency.

CHARLES par la Grace de Dieu, Roy de la Grand Brittain, de la France, & d'Irlande, Defenseur de la Foy, &c. a Tres Illustre & Tres Excellent Seigneur, Charles d'Arragon, Duc de Villa Hermosa, Conde de Luna, Gouverneur General des Pags Bas, & de la Burgoyne, pour sui Majestè Catholique, nôtre Tres Cher Amis, Salut, &c. Tres Illustre, & Tres Excellent Seigneur, & Tres Cher Amis, Nôtre feal & aimé Sûjet, Richard Bulstrode, que nous avions cy devant envoyé a Bruxelles, pour y resider en qualité de nôtre Agent, étant depuis peu de retour icy, nous a fait tres ample-ment connoître l'Affection que vôtre Excellence nous porte, & nous a aussi représenté fort au large la Bien Veillance qu'elle a pour nos Sûjets : Or pour une merque de la satisfaction que nous avons reçue de la bonne Conduite que le dit Bulstrode a tenue dans l'Employ que nous luy avons confié, & de la quelle aussi vôtre Excel- lence temoign être bien satisfaite, par sa Lettre
du

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du 12^{me} du Mois de Decembre dernier, l'ayant honoré de la dignité de Chevalier, nous luy avons ordonné de retourner incessamment au dit Bruxelles pour y demeurer en qualité de nôtre Resident, luy ayant commandé en mesme temps de rendre a vôtre Excellence l'honneur & le respêt qui luy est due: Comme aussi d'observer avec soin & application les mesmes egards pour ce qui concerne l'amitie étroite qui est entre nous & le Sere-
nissime Roy Catholique, que pour ce qui nous re-
gardera, & le Bien de nos Sûjets. Nous ne doutons nullement que vôtre Excellence ne fausse un bon & favorable accueil a nôtre dit Resident, & qu'elle ne donna pareillement Creance a tout ce qu'il luy dira de nôtre part. Sur ce nous prions Dieu, qu'il ait vôtre Excellence en sa sainte & digne garde.

Vôtre bon Amis,

CHARLES R.

Escrite de Whitehall, le 26 de Januier 1675.
Signé plus bas,

HENRY COVENTRY.

In June 1675, the two Houses were in a great Heat with each other; whereupon, the Ninth of that Month, the Black Rod knocked at the Door of the House of Commons, and said, the King commanded them to wait upon him presently in the House of Lords. The King then told them, That he had called them
toget-

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together, to secure their Religion and Properties, which he hoped they would have done successfully, seeing he had not offered any Business of his own to hinder or obstruct it, and had let them sit longer than he intended at first: That he designed only to have adjourned them for a short Time; but finding some of his and their Enemies had been able to make Differences between them, which could not be accommodated by any thing less than a Prorogation, he very unwillingly prorogued them to the 13th of *October*, when he hoped to meet them again in a better Temper, without springing new Differences, or reviving the old. The Members then posted down into their several Countries, dissatisfied eniough, but with whom, or with what, they could not tell. They all agreed, the King did no more than Necessity required him to do, and some believed he had not done so much as he ought to have done, or must quickly do; for, that a Prorogation was not likely to do the Business, but that the Parliament must be dissolved, for that no Good could be expected from them, and that it was lost Labour to try them longer. After this Prorogation, the Marquess of *Winchester*, and the Earl of *Shaftsbury* appeared at Court, which was done by Permission; for the King being asked, if he would not take it ill, if they came, his Majesty's Answer was, That he forbid no Body, without any farther Encouragement. It seems the Two before-mentioned went likewise to *St. James's*, and were at the Duke's Rising,

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and were received very kindly by his Royal Highness, which gave new Occasion of Talk, and that the latter of them two would come soon into Play. The Parliament being again farther prorogued, and afterwards assembling, the Lords were very hot upon the Point of the Legality of that Parliament; and tho' those that opposed were so few, that it was not worth being put to the Question, yet it lasted a long Debate, and when the Debate was over, it was moved, that those who first stirred the Scruple should be punished; and then how many should be accounted liable? Whether the Duke of *Buckingham*, who first moved it, or others with him? And how many, and who? Upon which three others were named, *viz.* the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Shaftsbury*, and Lord *Wharton*: And a Debate arose, whether those Lords should withdraw as criminal, till their Punishment was agreed upon? The Question being put, Whether the offending Lords should withdraw? it was carried in the Affirmative. Then the House called for the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was gone; upon which it was ordered, that the Black Rod should take his Grace into Custody, and bring him to the House the next Day. Then the other Three were called, and required to ask Pardon of the King and the House, which they refused, and were thereupon sent Prisoners to the *Tower*. The Duke of *Buckingham* appeared the next Day, and was sent Prisoner to the *Tower*, because he refused likewise to make the Acknowledgment.

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Wednesday the 29th of *February*, the Petition of the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was read in the House, submitting to what the Lords should enjoin him, in begging Pardon of the King and their Lordships. Whereupon the Lord Chancellor told the House, That the King had also received a Petition from the said Earl; but understanding, that he endeavoured to free himself from their Censure, by an Appeal to the King's Bench, during the Adjournment of Parliament, his Majesty thought not fit to declare his Pleasure, as to his Enlargement, till the House of Lords had taken the Case into their Consideration. Upon which, after a long Debate, it was ordered, That the Records of the King's Bench Court should be brought into the House, and the Earl's Business proceeded upon the next Day; when the Lords declared, That it was a Breach of Privilege for any of their House to appeal to an inferior Court, during the Sitting of Parliament: That however, this should not be any Bar to any Plea the Earl should make. However, it seems that, some Time after, the Earl of *Shaftsbury* moved again by his Council in the King's Bench, for another *Habeas Corpus*; upon which his Lordship was brought thither, and the Business was agreed by Council on both Sides, and the Judges declared, that his Lordship being committed by a superior Court, *viz.* the House of Lords, of which his Lordship was a Member, they could not enquire into the Legality or Illegality of his Commitment, nor could they give him any Relief,

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Relief, and so remanded his Lordship back to the *Tower*. Upon this the Earl petitioned the House of Lords, to know whether he should be released or not? To which the Lords told him, considering he had added a new Offence to that for which he was committed, much more heinous than the first, in applying himself to the King's Bench with a new *Habeas Corpus*, which was a farther Contempt of the Authority of the House of Lords, they would not release him. To which his Lordship answered, That the Crime for which he was committed, was the only Matter in Question before them; and therefore, if they looked upon his Submission as Satisfaction enough for the Fault he had committed, he might be allowed by the House to make his Application to the King, for his Liberty; but, after a long Debate, it was carried in the Negative, That he should not be allowed by the House to make his Application to the King, and that they were resolved not to release him, till they had examined all his Faults together. Then the Lords resolved to have the Earl once more before them, and having perused the Record of his second *Habeas Corpus*, they agreed, that his applying again to an inferior Court, in the time of an Adjournment, which is a virtual Session of Parliament, to be relieved against the Judgment of the House of Lords, was a Breach of their Privileges, and resolved, That he should answer the Crime at the Bar of their House, the next Day; but the other Crime, for which he was committed, seemed to be for-

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given. In the End, the Earl finding his Petition to the Lords rejected there, for want of having behaved himself with due Submission and Obedience to the King, did then again petition his Majesty; but either uncarefully, or too capriciously insinuated in his Petition, that he did it by Order of the House of Lords, which the King took ill, and refused the Petition upon it. After this, the Lords were again upon this Business, and after many refined Questions, the whole Matter hung upon some Words which were alledged his Lordship should have said at the King's Bench Bar, upon his bringing his last *Habeas Corpus*, and that the Words then spoken by his Lordship were derogatory to the House of Lords, and to their Power: Whereupon Witnesses were called in and heard, who proved so little to the Earl's Disadvantage, that he was at length called for, to make his Submission to the House, which his Lordship did with all the Words and Ceremonies exacted of him, so much to the Satisfaction of the House, that they ordered an Address to be made to the King, to signify to his Majesty, that they (the House of Lords) were entirely satisfied, and that the whole Business of his Lordship's Enlargement, or farther Confinement, rested with his Majesty: Upon which his Lordship was that Night remanded to the *Tower*. The next Morning, the White Staves of the Lords House, in the Name of the whole House, made an Address to his Majesty, in the Case of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*; and the Lord Treasurer, the Morning

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following, made Report to the House, that his Majesty was satisfied, and that he would graciously please to order, that the said Earl should be delivered from the *Tower*, which was done accordingly; and the next Day the Earl of *Shaftsbury* had his Liberty, and took his Place in the House of Lords.

About this time I received a Letter from the King to the *Duc de Villa Hermosa*, brought me from *Windsor* by Mr. *Puckle*, who was then employed by the Merchants. That it being long since the Merchants first applied themselves to his Majesty for Redress in *Flanders*, and the King having long expected, from the Interposition of himself in that Affair, and the several Memorials given in his Name to the Ministers of *Spain*, from time to time residing, as also by his Minister at *Brussels*, that his Subjects would sooner have found the good Effects of their Instances; but especially being so seriously promised, upon the coming of their Deputies, with *Steur Decio* their Fiscal, all Differences would be speedily adjusted: Yet, to his great Dissatisfaction he found, that several Months had been taken up by them in Conferences, and yet the Affair appeared so far from being ended, that it seemed to be industriously protracted: And his Subjects therefore freshly importuning him with reiterated Complaints of their Oppressions, and imploring that he would provide for their Satisfaction, by such Ways as were agreeable to his royal Dignity: His Majesty therefore calling to Mind with what Pa-

tience he had waited for Reparation of their Damages, and having used all amicable Ways depending upon him, was now constrained to let his Excellency know, That if Justice were not speedily administred to his Subjects, he should be obliged by the Protection he owes them, to give them Leave to take their Satisfaction, by such Ways as the Law of Nations, and his Treaty of 1667 with the King of *Spain* allowed. And therefore the King seriously desired his Excellency to give effectual Orders to those concerned, that what had been wrongfully done or taken from his Majesty's Subjects, by the Privateers of *Ostend*, might be adjudged and restored to them, or their Value; that thereby the Necessity of having Recourse to severer Remedies might be prevented, which his Majesty promised himself from his Love to Justice, and his great Desire to preserve a good Friendship and Correspondence betwixt the two Crowns. 'Tis true indeed we had better Orders from the Duke, than we had formerly from the Count *Monterrey*; but the Difference was, that the Count *de Monterrey* would always have his Orders punctually obeyed, and the Orders of the *Duc de Villa Hermosa* were seldom complied with; so that his Majesty's Subjects were very little the better for all the good Orders of the *Duc de Villa Hermosa*.

Not long after this, I received a Letter from the King to the *Duc de Villa Hermosa*, which being faithfully translated, run thus.

Cousin,

Cousin,

THE Desire I have always had, and have, to do and perform all things on my Part, that may effectually conduce to the constant maintaining of a perfect Amity between me and my good Brother the Catholick King; and the Care which you have also used on your Part, to the same good Purpose, ever since you came to the Government of Flanders, made me believe, that my Subjects might have exercised their Commerce and Navigation, without any Hindrance or Interruption from those of his Catholick Majesty; and the rather, because you once sent the *Sieur Decio*, Fiscal of Ostend, hither into England, to adjust such Matters as were then in Difference, and to prevent the like for the future: Notwithstanding which, I am informed, that a Difficulty is raised concerning the Liberty of Trade to my Subjects, from one Port to another, of such Countries as are in Enmity with Spain, but in Peace and Amity with England, tho' there be not the least Ground or Shadow of any such Exception between me and his Catholick Majesty, nor is the like practised or pretended by any other Nation in Amity with me. Yet the Admiralty of Ostend refuseth to allow my Subjects that Liberty, upon a Pretence that the said Fiscal, when he was lately here, had given undeniable Arguments in that Behalf: But I am well informed, that, when the said Fiscal was here, and presented this Objection with some others against the Liberty of Trade, Sir Leoline Jenkins, Judge

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of my Admiralty, and Sir Robert Southwell, Knights, being appointed to examine the Fiscal's Papers, did make Answer thereto in Writing, in the Month of July 1675, and in particular to that very Point, touching the Right of Freedom in Trade from one Port to another; and that never any Answer or Reply being made thereunto, it was believed that the said Fiscal, and all those concerned in that Question, had finally acquiesced therein. A Copy of the Answer made by the said two Knights to the Fiscal's Objection, I have caused to be transmitted to my Resident at Brussels, and commanded him to impart the same unto you, not doubting but the Arguments therein contained will appear to you so strongly grounded upon Treaties and Reason, that I shall not need to press you for Justice in so clear a Case; but that that you will, of your own Accord and free Motion, adjust and finally determine this Point, according to the Rules set down in the aforesaid Treaty of 1667, between me and his Catholick Majesty, so as my Subjects may receive no farther Interruption in the lawful Exercise of their Freedom in Trade and Navigation, which is the only Intent of this my Letter to you, with the Assurance whereof I remain,

Cousin, Your Good Friend,

CHARLES R.

About this time Letters from the *Hague* told us, that the States General and their Confederates had accepted of *Nimmeguen* for the Place
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of Treaty, at the Mediation and Recommendation of his Majesty of *Great Britain*, which was forthwith communicated to *Monsieur de Ravigni*, the *French* Ambassador, who told our King, that his most Christian Majesty would not send his Ambassadors, till the Emperor had agreed to some Accommodation upon the two preliminary Points, of Prince *William* of *Furstenberg*, and the Money belonging to the *French* King seized at *Cologne*. Hereupon our King sent to his Ambassador at the *Hague*, to press the States in that Matter, who answered, That they did not think fit to meddle in that Matter, but left it entirely to the Emperor's Pleasure, whose Minister at the *Hague* declared in the Name of the Emperor, That his Imperial Majesty was willing to suspend the Process against the Prince, and would agree, that in the Assembly at *Nimneguen*, Consideration should be had of that Prince's Detention, and of seizing the Money at *Cologne*; but that the Prince being a natural born Subject of the Emperor, he could not admit to put him into a third Hand; upon which the King of *Great Britain* and the States were satisfied.

In the Year 1675, I had Notice given me by Mr. Secretary *Coventry*, That the King was resolved I should follow the Camp, and had ordained an Allowance of 400 *L. Sterling* for my Equipage: That I should be careful to write all that passed in the Army, and leave some Person at *Brussels* to write all from thence, as fully as I used to do: That the Continuance of my Di-

ligence and Exactness was the Way to have my Pains valued, which would at last bring a good Recompence with it.

In August 1677, I was advised by Mr. Secretary Coventry, that *Mynbeer van Benningham*, the Dutch Envoy, had told him, that, in Discourse with *Count de Basigni*, a Lieutenant General of the Spanish Troops, I had told him at *Brussels*, that the Prince of Orange had raised his Siege of *Charleroy* without fighting, to make himself King of his own Country, with many other things very prejudicial to the Honour and Trust of the Prince; which being known to the King and Duke, they were much concerned at it; And that it would therefore become me presently to apply my self to *Count Basigni*, to get a Certificate from him, that I had said no such thing to him. The same Story was also told me by Mr. *Laury Hyde*, who was newly arrived from the English Court. Upon these Informations, I went forthwith to *Count Basigni*, and shewed him Mr. Secretary's Letter, which was wrote by Order from the King. Whereupon *Count de Basigni* told me, I had always been esteemed a Frenchman, and that I had a great Inclination for that Nation: That he had endeavoured to do me that Right, as to assure the contrary, by saying, I was unsatisfied at the Prince of Orange's raising his Siege of *Charleroy* without fighting, which he had purposely done, to make himself King of *Holland* and the Low Countries. I then asked him, whether he had ever heard me say any such thing? He then

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confessed he never heard me say so, but that what he had said was in my Justification, and that I was not the Man that others apprehended me to be: That I might make a good Excuse to the Secretary, by saying, *Count de Basigni* not being well, was gone to drink the *Spaw Waters*, and that at his Return I would get such a Certificate from him as was required: That in the mean time the Business would be forgotten, and I should hear no more of it. But I told him plainly, that since his Tongue had been too long, in speaking that, as from me, which I never said, whereby my Honour was in great Hazard, his Hand was not too short to give me Satisfaction by his Pen; which if he refused, he must do it with his Sword, and that my Coach was at his Door, and that I would carry him out of the Ramparts, and the Business would quickly be decided. To which he answered, he would much more willingly give me Satisfaction with his Sword, than with his Pen, after he had heard Mass at the *Dominicans*. Upon which I left him, and went to the *Dominicans*; soon after which, the Count came thither, and when the Mass was ended, we went out together to my Coach, and putting him before me, as I was going in after him, *Don Antonio de Lera*, and *Don Martin de les Ries*, two *Spanish* Officers, stopp'd me, and said we should not go together, for that they knew there was a Quarrel betwixt us; and that they would secure and take *Count de Basigni* Prisoner from me, and would forthwith give Notice of
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of it to the Governour, Viscount *Berling*: Whereupon I went into my Coach, and sent immediately to Mr. *Lent*, who was Resident for the King of *Denmark*. He came presently to me, to whom I told all that happened: Whereupon he offered me his Service, and said he would stand by me, and serve me in all I should desire of him. Soon after Viscount *Berling* came to me, to let me know, that he would endeavour to compose the Difference amicably between Count *Basigni* and me, in the Absence of the *Duc de Villa Hermosa*, and that he had secured Count *Basigni* in his own House; but durst not meddle with me, because I was a publick Minister; but desired I would not stir abroad, and that he hoped to compose the Difference friendly between us. I sent forthwith to Mr. *Hyde*, to desire him to take my Coach to *Bruin le Comte*, to see the Prince of *Orange*, and to make my Excuse for not waiting upon his Highness, till I had freed my self from the Imputation that was cast upon me. I had not been long at Home, but Count *de Tanuti*, the Pope's Internuncio, accompanied with the Abbot of *Leyde*, came to see me, and offered their Service for accommodating the Business between us. The Internuncio told me, and so did the Abbot of *Leyde*, that they could not advise Count *de Basigni* to give me such a Certificate as I desired, for that would be to give himself the Lye; but I told them, he must either do that, or fight with me, and that I had rather lose my Life than my Honour.

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In the Afternoon of the same Day, Mr. *Lysca*, the *Spaniard*, who was Superintendant in the Place of *Don Pedro de Ronquillos*, came to see me: Amongst other things, he told me, that perchance he might do me some Service, because, by virtue of his Office, he could examine upon Oath, any Person that was Prisoner upon such an Occasion; and that if I would let him know what Questions he should ask him, he would not fail to do it; and that he would take a *Commis* with him, who should put in Writing all that was said, of which he would give me a Copy attested under his Hand and Seal. Upon this I told him, that he would please to examine Count *Basigni*, how he came to be a Prisoner? and if there was a Quarrel betwixt us? and upon what Account? And that, whether he had heard me at any time, especially since the Siege of *Charleroy*, speak any thing against the Prince of *Orange*, that might reflect upon his Honour, or Trust reposed in him by the States General of the United Provinces? and that he, the Prince of *Orange*, did not fight then, because he would make himself King of that Country? To which Count *Basigni* answered upon Oath, That he never heard me speak any thing tending to the Dishonour of the Prince of *Orange*, or breaking of his Trust to the States General; because, if he had heard any such thing, he would have questioned me for it. When Mr. *Lysca* gave me this Account the next Day, I told him, I should be very well satisfied, if he would give me three Certificates signed by himself

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himself and his *Commis*, signifying what he had told me; the one should be for the King and the Duke, the second for the Prince of *Orange*, and the third to be left in the Stadt-House at *Brussels*, in *perpetuam rei memoriam*, which was done accordingly, and all our Differences were amicably composed. The King my Master, with his Royal Highness, were entirely satisfied with my Proceeding and Conduct in this Business, as Mr. Secretary *Coventry* wrote me Word, and the Prince of *Orange* was fully satisfied, as Mr. *Hyde* informed me, and as I understood afterwards from the Prince himself. But this Affair stuck upon *Count de Basigni*, as an ill Mark upon him, who lived not many Years after it.

In *March* 1677, the House of Commons resolved, that those Persons who either advised, compelled, assisted, or encouraged the raising, levying, or sending his Majesty's Subjects into the military Service of the *French* King, since the King's Proclamation to the contrary, are, and shall be esteemed Enemies to the Safety of the Kingdom. Then they agreed to present an Address to his Majesty in these Words following.

May it please Your Majesty,

WE your Majesty's most loyal Subjects, the Commons assembled in Parliament, do with unspeakable Joy and Comfort, present our humble Thanks to Your Majesty, for Your most gracious Acceptance of our Address; and that
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You have been pleased to express, in your princely Wisdom, Your Concurrence in Opinion to the Preservation of the Spanish Netherlands: We do with all earnest and repeated Desires implore Your Majesty, that You would be pleased to take Care to prevent those Dangers that may arise to these Kingdoms by the present Power of the French King, and the Progress he daily makes in the Netherlands, and many other Places; and therefore that Your Majesty would not defer the entering into such Alliances as may attain those Ends. And in Case it shall happen, in pursuance of such Alliances, that Your Majesty shall be engaged in a War with the French King, we hold our selves obliged, and we do with all Humility and Chearfulness assure Your Majesty, that we Your Majesty's most loyal Subjects shall always be ready, upon Signification in Parliament, fully from time to time to assist Your Majesty with such Aids and Supplies, as, by the Divine Assistance, may enable Your Majesty to prosecute the same with Success. All which we humbly offer to Your Majesty, as the unanimous Sense and Desire of the whole Nation.

To this the King returned no Answer, and therefore this farther Address was also made by both Houses of Parliament.

May it please Your Majesty,
WE Your most loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses in Parliament assembled,
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find our selves obliged, in Duty and Faithfulness to Your Majesty, and in Discharge of the Trust reposed in us by those whom we represent, most humbly to offer to Your Majesty's serious Consideration, that the Minds of Your Majesty's People are much disquieted with the manifest Dangers arising to Your Majesty's Kingdoms, by the Growth and Power of the French King, especially by the Acquisitions already, and the farther Progress likely to be made by him in the Spanish Netherlands; in the Preservation and Security whereof we humbly conceive the Interest of Your Majesty, and the Safety of Your People, are singly concerned: And therefore we most humbly beseech Your Majesty to take the same into Your Royal Consideration, and to strengthen Your self with such stricter Alliances as may secure Your Majesty, and preserve and secure the said Netherlands, and thereby quiet the Minds of Your Majesty's People.

The King's Answer to this Address was to this Effect. That his Majesty was of Opinion, that the Conservation of Flanders was of great Importance to England: That he would use all Means in his Power for the Preservation of Flanders, as could consist with the Safety of the Kingdom. And the 11th of April 1677, his Majesty sent this Message to the House of Commons.

HIS

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HIS Majesty having considered your late Address, and finding some Alterations in Affairs abroad, thinks it necessary to put you in Mind, that the only Way to prevent the Dangers that may arise to these Kingdoms, must be by putting his Majesty timely in a Condition to make such fitting Preparations as may enable him to do what shall be most for the Security of them.

The 12th of April 1677, Resolved in the House of Commons,

THAT the Thanks of this House be given to his Majesty, for laying before them his Majesty's Sense of the Posture of Affairs abroad, and to let his Majesty know, that in order to his Majesty's Preparations in pursuance of their Address, for the Safety of the Kingdom, they had provided a Security of 200000*l.* and that whatsoever of the same shall be expended accordingly, shall be by them reimbursed; and whensoever the Posture of his Majesty's Affairs shall require their Attendance in Parliament, they would be ready to aid and assist him, as the Nature of his Majesty's Affairs should require.

The 16th of this Month, his Majesty sent for the House of Commons, and told them, that the Two Hundred Thousand Pounds they had given him Credit for, was not sufficient for making the necessary Preparations; and therefore demanded Six Hundred Thousand Pounds
more;

more; but the House desired his Majesty, he would give them Leave to defer that Matter, till they came together again, for that their House was at present very empty; and the 22d of May 1677, his Majesty sent a Message to the House of Commons, to attend him presently in the *Banqueting-House*, where he made a Speech to them, and they being returned, went into a grand Committee of the whole House, to consider of his Majesty's Speech, and resolved, That an Humble Address be presented to the King, and a Committee was appointed to draw up an Address, with Reasons why they could not comply with his Majesty's Speech, till such Alliances as they desired were entered into; and farther shewing the Necessity of such speedy Alliances; and that when such Alliances were made, to give his Majesty Assurances of speedy and chearful Supplies, for supporting and maintaining such Alliances. After this, the King sent again for the House of Commons to the *Banqueting-House*, and made this following Speech to them.

Gentlemen,

I Have sent for you hitherto, to prevent the Mistakes which I find some are ready to make, as if I had called you together only to get Money from you, for other Ends than you would have it employed. I do assure you, upon the Word of a King, that you shall never repent any Trust reposed in Me, for the Safety of My Kingdoms, and desire you to believe, that I would

not

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not break my Credit with you: But as I have already told you, that it will be impossible for me to speak or act those things which should answer the Ends of your several Addresses, without exposing my Kingdoms to much greater Dangers; so I declare to you, that I will not hazard my own Safety, nor yours, till I am in better Condition than I am able to put my self, both to defend my Subjects, and to offend my Enemies. And I do farther assure you, that I have not lost one Day, since your last Meeting, in doing all I can for our Defence: And I tell you plainly, it shall be your Fault, and not mine, if our Securities be not provided for.

May the 21st, the Address of the House of Commons was read and agreed to, and the Privy-Counsellours of the House were ordered to know his Majesty's Pleasure when the House should wait upon him with it. The 26th of May they attended the King in the Banqueting-House with their Address. The King told them, it was of great Weight, that he would take it into Consideration, and return them an Answer. The 28th of May he sent for the House of Commons into the Banqueting-House at Whitehall, and gave them this following Answer. That he could by no means approve of their last Address, for that it contained many things unfit for them to meddle with, and which intrenched upon the undoubted Right of the Crown, whose Prerogative it was to make Peace, and declare War: That his Majesty would never suffer to

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be lessened so essential a Part of the Monarchy: But withal his Majesty declared, that as he had done all that lay in his Power, so he would continue to apply himself by all the Means he could, to let the World see his Care both for the Security and Satisfaction of his People, tho' it might not be with those Advantages to them, which by their Assistance he might have procured.

But I must not forget to tell, that in this Year 1677, the House of Commons agreed upon an Address to his Majesty, to return him their humble Thanks for expressing his great Care of the Protestant Religion, in marrying his Niece to a Protestant Prince, and did humbly beseech his Majesty to admit of no Treaty of Peace, but such a one as leaves the *French* King in no better State or Condition to offend his Neighbours, than he is left by the Treaty of the *Pyrrbeneans*.

In April 1678, the two Houses of Parliament met, and the King being in his Robes in the Lords House, sent for the House of Commons to confirm their new Speaker, Sir Robert Sawyer; after which the Lord Chief Justice North (the Lord Chancellor being indisposed) acquainted the two Houses, That his Majesty hoped he should have been able at their Meeting to have told something to their full Satisfaction, but that things were not yet in that Condition, by reason the *Dutch* Ambassador was not fully authorized to treat an Alliance, which might comprehend all the Allies, and particularly to engage,

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gave, that the States General should, in like manner as is done in *England*, prohibite all Trade with *France*; and therefore his Majesty had thought fit, that they should adjourn for some short time longer, when his Majesty hoped he should be able to tell them the Certainty of things, upon which they might take the Resolutions that were fit; Upon which both Houses of Parliament adjourned themselves.

About this time I received a Letter from Sir *Joseph Williamson*, in these Words.

Dear Sir,

WE bear nothing yet of the great Business of our East India Company so long since promised, which is not yet ended, nor like to be; the Commissioners can come to no Agreement in their Differences, each Company being obstinate in their Demands. All that is like to be done is this, to leave Matters in the same State they were before the Negotiation, and a Rule is made for the amicable Decision of all Complaints, which is this that follows. If Justice be not done, or Satisfaction given to the Parties by the King of Great Britain, or the States General, respectively, in Three Months, then within Three Months after, Four Commissioners shall be named on each Side, who shall be obliged to determine it in Three Months following their Assembly; and if they do not, they shall name an Arbitrator, to decide within Six Months: And if he do not, and the Commissioners cannot agree upon such an Arbitrator, then the Cause to devolve

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upon the King of Great Britain and the States, to decide; and this to be the Method. Upon each Complaint, the Commissioners in the first Case to meet at London, and in the second at the Hague, and so alternatively; and an Act is passed between the King and the States, That the 9th Article of the Treaty at London, which relates to this Matter of the East Indies, and the Treaty Marine, be executed, and no farther Proceedings to be had upon it: Upon which the Deputies of the East India Company are parted, as likewise the Commissioners for Surinam, the States of Zealand having some Weeks past sent their Orders directly to Surinam, for executing that Part of the Treaty, and bringing off the English from thence.

Soon after this, I received a Letter from the Earl of Sunderland, in these Words following.

S I R,
HIS Majesty having been pleased to make Choice of me for one of his principal Secretaries of State, in Place of Sir Joseph Williamson, I hold my self obliged to give you this Notice, assuring you at the same time, that I shall be very glad of any Occasion that I may lay hold upon, during my Function, that may offer for your Service, as being, Sir,

Your most Humble Servant,
 SUNDERLAND.

This

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This was in the Year 1678 that Sir *Joseph Williamson* resigned, and the Earl of *Sunderland* came in his Place.

The 22d of *April* 1678, all People were impatiently expecting what Resolution would be taken in *Holland* upon the Proposals of the *French* Ambassadors, which it seems the States were inclined to accept, at a Time when his Majesty was so vigorously preparing for the War, and was so near engaging in it, that it was believed, by the latter End of the next Month, his Royal Highness would be in *Flanders* with the whole Army, if no extraordinary Accident hinder'd it.

But on the 6th of *May* 1678, after a long Debate, the Commons came to this Resolution: First, to disapprove of the offensive Treaty with *Holland*, as not consisting with the Safety of the Kingdom: Secondly, that his Majesty will please to enter into an Alliance with the Emperor, *Spain*, (and the States General, if they will come into it, if not, to proceed without them) and other the Confederates for lessening the Power of *France*. This Address was drawn and presented that Night, and the next Day, which was the 7th Instant, his Majesty returned this following Answer.

CHARLES REX.

HIS Majesty having been acquainted with the Votes of the House of Commons, was very much surpriz'd both with the Matter and Form of them: But if his Majesty had had

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Exception to neither, yet his Majesty having asked the Advice of his two Houses of Parliament, does not think fit to give an Answer to any thing of that Nature, till he hath a concurrent Advice from both Houses. Given at the Court at Whitehall, the 6th of May 1678.

The 14th of May his Majesty sent a Message to the House of Commons, to let them know, that unless they did farther supply his Majesty, he should be forced to disband all his Forces, and to cease his Preparations for Sea; and in the Afternoon of that Day, the House of Commons presented their Address, to which the King was pleased to answer the next Day, That their Address was so extravagant, that his Majesty did not think fit to give it the Answer it deserved, and the next Day the King prorogued the Parliament to the 23d of May 1678. The 31st of May the House of Commons ordered the Members of the Privy Council, to pray his Majesty, that if he will please to enter into a War against the *French King*, they would support him in it; if otherwise, they would proceed to provide for paying and disbanding the Army; To which his Majesty was pleased the next Day to answer, That the *French King* had consented to a Cessation to the 27th of July, which his Majesty believed would be followed by a general Peace; but that the King thought it necessary to keep up his Army till that time, and therefore called upon them forthwith to provide a Subsistence for them; Whereupon the
House

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House resolved, that all the Forces raised since the 29th of *September* last, be forthwith paid and disbanded, except those Forces that were sent to the Plantations; and they resolved, That a Supply be granted to his Majesty, towards the paying and disbanding the Forces that have been raised since the said 29th of *September*.

In *November* 1678 several Persons were apprehended for High Treason, and were examined before the Lords of the Privy Council, and committed to *Newgate*, in order to their Tryal; and all that were, or suspected to be *Roman* Catholicks, were seized upon, and the House of Commons passed this following Vote, That, upon the Evidence that had already appeared to them, there is, and hath been, a damnable hellish Plot contrived and carried on by the Popish Recusants, for assassinating and murdering the King, and for subverting the Government, and destroying the Protestant Religion by Law established; and ordered, that this Vote be communicated to the Lords at a Conference, and that the Lords be then desired to join with the House of Commons, in providing Remedies for the Safety of his Majesty's sacred Person and Government, and Protestant Religion by Law established. His Majesty was then pleased to issue out his Proclamation, requiring all Popish Recusants not to go five Miles from the Places of their Abode, and command all of them to quit the City of *London*, without Exception of any Person, but only foreign Ministers; and his Majesty

sent an Answer in Writing by one of his principal Secretaries to the Address for tendering the Oaths to all Persons residing in *Whitehall*, *St. James's*, and *Somerset-House*, except the menial Servants of the Queen and Dutches, who are excepted by Articles of Marriage.

Upon the 4th of *August* 1679, the King was taken at *Windsor* with an Indisposition something like an Ague, occasioned by a Cold, which made him very heavy, and took away his Stomach: The News thereof being brought to the Duke at *Brussels*, his Royal Highness sent for me at Ten at Night, and then he acquainted me with his Intention of going early the next Morning for *England*, and commanded me to make his Excuse to the *Duc de Villa Hermosa*, for not taking Leave of his Excellency, his going being so sudden, private, and unexpected. The 5th of *September* following I had Letters from *England*, that the Duke of *York* was safely arrived at *Windsor*, and was most kindly received by the King and all the Court: That many Persons flocked thither to see the Duke, and kiss his Hands; and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London* were resolved to come in a Body, to pay their Respects to his Royal Highness.

About this time Mr. Secretary *Coventry* wrote me Word, That he had received an Express from *Spain*, which he had long expected: That he did believe that Court would not be so quick in declaring a Rupture, as some of their Ministers in *England* had been, in both threatning
and

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and advising it: That I might assure the *Count de Fuentes*, that our Master was never wanting in the courteous receiving any publick Minister, much less one of his Character, and sent from so great a King, whilst they performed their Respects to him: But when those that are sent to him make their Addresses elsewhere, and in a Fashion derogatory to his Government, he will let them and the World know, that *England* is a Monarchy, and he the Monarch; and that no Addresses in his Kingdom must be made but to him, or by his Approbation: That his Majesty had had from several Hands a very good Character of the Count and his Temper, and hoped when he came, he would bring Orders proportionable to such a Temper: That the King and Duke had declared their Consent to the Marriage of the Lady *Mary* with the Prince of *Orange*, which employed the Jollity of the Town that Night, which was all at present from, &c.

Sir *George Wakeman* was about this time tryed for High Treason: *Oates*, *Bedlow*, *Dugdale*, and *Prance* were Witnesses against him. *Oates* deposed, That Sir *George Wakeman* had, to his Knowledge, accepted of Fifteen Thousand Pounds, to poyson the King, and had received Five Thousand Pounds of it. *Bedlow* deposed, That meeting Sir *George Wakeman* at *Harcourt's* Chamber, he had acquainted him with his Design of poysoning the King: But Sir *Philip Lloyd*, Clerk of the Privy Council, deposed, That *Oates* before the Council being

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asked,

asked, upon the first Discovery of the Plot, whether he could say any thing of his own Knowledge, of Sir *George Wakeman*, he answered, God forbid, for he knew nothing of his own Knowledge, but he had heard Sir *George Wakeman* was to poyson the King. To this *Oates* answered, That at the Council he was much disturbed, and his Memory was by that disordered. And *Bedlow* being asked by the Jury, whether he had seen Sir *George Wakeman* before he met him at *Harcourt's* Chamber, he answered, No: Whereupon the Jury reflected, that Sir *George Wakeman* must needs be very indiscreet to intrust him with so great a Secret; and so Sir *George Wakeman*, with three other Prisoners, *Marshal*, *Corker*, and a Lay-Brother, were all absolved after one Hour's Consultation. *Dugdale* and *Prance* being the other Witnesses, spake only as to the Plot in general; so that Sir *George Wakeman* was acquitted upon very good Reason, the Tryal having lasted from Eight in the Morning till Six at Night: But the common People would have all Papists hanged without more ado, and were much enraged against both Jury and Judges, and swore they were all turned Papists.

On the 10th of *July* 1679, the Privy Council ordered a Proclamation should be drawn up for a new Parliament to meet the 7th of *October*; but the King ordered in Council at *Hampton Court*, that the Parliament should not meet till the 17th of *October*, the King intending to go to *Newmarket* some time in that Month, and
would

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would after return to attend the Business in Parliament without Intermission; but this Parliament was afterwards prorogued from the 17th of October to the 15th of April. In the mean time there came out every Day such Swarms of impudent licentious Libels upon all Sorts of Persons, and upon all Subjects, printed, as the like was never known, and will be still continued whilst the *Habeas Corpus* is still in Force, and that they are sure to be bailed.

The King having written to the University of Cambridge, to let them know how much he was displeased with the undutiful Carriage of the Duke of Monmouth, they did presently chuse a new Chancellor. On the 21st of April 1679, the King being in his Robes in the House of Lords, and the Commons attending with their Speaker, his Majesty made this following Speech to them.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Thought it necessary to acquaint you what I have done this Day, which is, that I have established a new Privy-Council, the constant Number of which shall not exceed Thirty. I have made Choice of such Persons as are worthy and able to advise me: And I am resolved in all my weighty and important Affairs (next to the Advice of my great Council in Parliament, with which I shall very often consult) to be advised by this Council. I would not make so great a Change without acquainting both Houses of Parliament: And I desire you will all apply your selves heartily

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heartily (as I shall do) to those things that are necessary for the Safety of the Kingdom, and that no Time may be lost in it. The constant Number of the Council is to be Thirty, amongst which the Princes of the Blood, the President and Secretary of Scotland, are not reckoned; because it may happen there may be none of the first nor second, and the Scotch Secretary will not be constantly there.

His Majesty then told both Houses, that he would hold no more Cabinet Councils: A Declaration from the King is expected upon this Change, which it is believed was hatched at a Meeting of the Privy Council the Night before, which was so private, that the Clerks of the Council attending were ordered to withdraw, which is not usual; and this Change did not meet with that general Approbation of the House of Commons, as a Condescension of that Nature seemed to challenge, as we may perceive by deferring the Consideration of giving his Majesty Thanks for his Speech, which in good Manners they ought to have done immediately.

The Day before the King declared this great Change of his Council, the House of Commons came to this Resolution, That it was their Opinion, that the Duke of York being a Papist, and the Hopes of his coming such to the Crown, had given the greatest Countenance and Encouragement to the present Conspiracy of the Papists against his Majesty and the Protestant Religion; and this Resolution was sent up to the

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Lords, for their Concurrence, by the Lord *Ruffel*. The House of Commons made likewise an Address to his Majesty in the *Banqueting-House*, That *Pickering* and the other Popish Priests condemned might be speedily executed. To which his Majesty answered, That he was very tender of Blood, but would send them an Answer to their Address very speedily. The Commons then voted, That a Bill should be brought in, for disabling the Duke of *York* to inherit the imperial Crown of *England*, and that they would stand by the King with their Lives and Fortunes; and that if the King (which God forbid) should be taken away by any sudden Accident, they would revenge him to the utmost upon all the Papists in *England*. The Tryal of the Lords in the *Tower* was deferred for some time, and a Committee of both Houses met to adjust the Preliminaries. The Lords have at last come to Resolution, that the Lords Spiritual have a right to stay in Court in all capital Causes, till such time as Judgment of Death comes to be pronounced, which they have declared and explained to be, till the House proceeds to the Votes of Guilty, or Not Guilty. The Commons were not at all contented with this Declaration of the Lords, nor with their Lordships having appointed the Tryal of the Popish Lords in the *Tower*, before the Earl of *Danby* came to his Tryal.

The 9th of *July* 1679, the Council ordered a Proclamation should be drawn up for a new Parliament; but his Majesty finding that the

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two Houses could not agree about the Tryal of the Lords, and that they grew to excessive Heats, was pleased to prorogue them till the 24th of *August*, and the next Day he sent for the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen to the Council, and gave them Orders to appease all groundless Jealousies which some Men endeavoured to raise in People's Minds; and the Justices of the Peace in *Middlesex* had the like Orders given them in Council, and to proceed to put the Laws in Execution against the Papists: And the Lord Chancellor acquainted the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, that the King commanded them to put the Laws exactly in Execution against Papists: And because some might pretend to be in Town as Witnesses for the Popish Lords in the *Tower*, and others might presume, upon the Proroguing of the Parliament, to appear, which before they durst not do, his Majesty commanded to double their Diligence for finding out all Papists, and proceeding to a speedy Conviction of them, his Majesty being resolved, that they should be proceeded against with greater Severity than if the Parliament were sitting, the King being absolutely resolved to clear the City of Papists: And, a farther Mark of the King's Zeal in these Proceedings was, that he commanded the several Priests who had been condemned should be executed forthwith according to the Sentence passed upon them. So much did his Majesty's Proceedings differ now from the Opinion he had at *Cologne*, which was never to put the Penal Laws in Execution.

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It seems the Lords and Commons could not come to any Agreement about the Tryals of the Lords in the *Tower*. The Commons resolved to have the Earl of *Danby* come first, and to exclude the Bishops from sitting in the Court; so that the King was necessitated to a Prorogation, to abate their Heats; and there was an Expedient intended to be proposed in the Earl of *Danby's* Case, which was, That he should be perpetually banished and degraded, to see how that would take: But the Earl's Consent being asked to the Proposition, he positively refused it, and said he would stand or fall by his Pardon, and nothing else.

The Heats which appeared upon proroguing the Parliament in *June* 1679, were much abated, and People's Thoughts somewhat quieted by what the King had pleased to do; since first, by giving strict Orders to the Lord Mayor and Justices of the Peace of *Westminster*, to put the Laws in Execution against the Papists, and directing Mr. Attorney General to bring those that were Prisoners for the Plot to a speedy Tryal; in commanding the Execution of the condemned Priests, and in ordering an Account to be made in every County, of those Persons that are fitting to be Justices of Peace, and in declaring the Duke of *Tork* should not return during the Prorogation.

There was a warm Report about this time, that the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was to leave the Council, and the Lord *Roberts* to be made Lord President in his Place. The Occasion of this Report

Report was, that the Lord *Roberts* was a great Assertor of the Rights of the Lords and the Bishops, when the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was of a contrary Opinion. It seems the House of Commons continued very eager upon the Search of such Persons as had in the last Parliament received any Money, which was put upon the Account of secret Service; and having gotten a List of many Names, they examined Sir *Stephen Fox*, the Pay-Master General, if he had not payed Money to such as they named. He confessed, that he had payed several Sums, and named the Persons to whom he had payed Money for secret Service; but the Commons being not content with his verbal Confession, they would see his Books of Accompts, and sent a Committee of the House to *Whitehall*, to fetch the Books; but the Lord Chamberlain told the Committee, that, by virtue of his Office, he could not suffer any Search to be made in the King's House, without his Majesty's Leave; and so the Committee went away without them, but Mr. *Bertie* was kept in Custody for not delivering his Books of the Treasury.

In August 1679, Sir *Lionel Jenkins* landed at *Greenwich*, and went directly to *Windsor* to kiss the King's Hands, and was very well received of his Majesty. The Duke's Arrival at *Windsor* from *Brussels* incognito, was a great Surprize to them. His Royal Highness was most kindly received by the King; but it was not determined whether he should continue in *England*, or return to *Prussels*. Great Numbers of

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of People of all Qualities did daily come to Court to kiss the Duke's Hands, which makes the World believe his Presence is very acceptable. About this time the Duke of *Monmouth* laid down his Commission of being General, and was by his Majesty's Command to leave *England* in few Days; and the Duke of *Tork* is likewise to return to *Brussels*. He is at present lodged in *Whitehall*, and will go with his Majesty to *New-market*, to which Place he is resolved to go, tho' his Physicians advise the contrary. It is said the Duke of *Monmouth* is often in Discourse with the King, not having a Mind to leave *England*, and is passing his Pardon under the Great Seal, before he goes, the King being resolved upon his going. When the King and Queen go to *New-market*, the Duke of *Tork* returns towards *Brussels*, and the Duke of *Monmouth* goes for *Holland*, intending to reside at *Utrecht*, Prince *Rupert* having lent him his House at *Rhenen*. The Dutches does not accompany the Duke, the King having dissuaded her from it.

I was about this time informed from *Whitehall*, that the 17th of *October* drawing on, when the Parliament was to meet, I should have News from thence, but they could not promise me it should be good at the same time; and from the same Hand I was told, that the Lord Chief Justice being in his Circuit, and giving his Charge to the Grand Jury, amongst other things, recommended unto them the strict executing the Laws against Papists: Whereupon the Duke of *Buckingham*

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(who was in the Court upon the Bench) stood up and said, *It was well indeed if that were done; but that the Lord Chief Justice, when he gave that Charge, did not mean it should be observed, because he was a Favourer of the Papists, and that he (the Duke) knew he had private Orders to assist and favour the Papists all he could:* Which last is a Reflection upon the King punishable by the Law, which declares it Treason to say the King is a Papist. It is added to me in my Letter, from a very good Hand, that the Duke did hereupon abscond, and that the Chief Justice, before he gave out his Warrant, complained to the King, and had the King's Directions in it, and I have been since told, that the Duke of *Buckingham* was gone privately into *Holland*, and was there seen by them that well knew his Grace.

The Parliament was prorogued this Day for Fourteen Days longer, his Majesty having declared to the Council, that he was desirous to spend some more Days at *New-market*, finding that Air very agreeable to him; and that after his Return he had several Matters to prepare for the Parliament, which he thought would not be displeasing to them, which would not be ready against the Time it was at first intended they should be. The Yacht that carried his Royal Highness to *Brussels* did bring back the Lady *Anne* and the Lady *Isabella* to *London*, with the Dutchess of *York*.

On the 10th of *October* Mr. Secretary *Coven-*
try communicated a Letter to those in his Of-
 fice,

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fice, which he had then received from *Newmarket* by the King's Command, that the Duke of *York*, before his Return to *Brussels*, had desired he might live in the Dominions of his Majesty, rather than in those of any other Prince; and having asked the King's Leave to go to *Scotland*, the King had granted it, and accordingly had ordered two *Frigates* to be ready in the *Downes* to transport his Royal Highness, and the Duke of *Lauderdale* was dispatched to *Scotland*, to make Preparations for his Royal Highness's Reception, which was hindered for some time by the unlucky Accident which happened at Sea. However, the 12th of *October*, both their Royal Highnesses arrived at Court, and were very well received by all that End of the Town, but I know not whether I can say so much for the other: Their Stay will be short, being designed for *Scotland*, where, by his Majesty's Leave, they intend to reside.

The 17th of *October* 1679, the Parliament met, and were prorogued to the 28th of *January*; and at the same time, one of the principal Secretaries of State, by his Letter to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, let his Lordship know, by the King's Command, that his Majesty intended to make no more Use of his Lordship at the Council Table; and not only excused his Lordship for attending as President of the Council, but discharged him from his farther Attendance there; and the 24th of the same Month his Majesty ordered the Earl of *Radnor* to take the Place of Lord President of the Council

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Table, in the Place of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, which the Earl of *Radnor* did accordingly. Mr. *Oates's* Complaint against Sir *Philip Lloyd*, one of the Clerks of the Council, was heard, and it being proved that Sir *Philip* had, in a Coffee-house, spoken some Words, as if he did not believe the Plot, and besides, spoke indiscreetly at the Tryal of Sir *George Wakeman*; the King, as a Mark of his Displeasure, suspended him the Execution of his Place. Then the Matter against Sir *Thomas Williams* the Chymist was heard; and it appearing that, of his own Head, he had gone with pretended Messages between the Duke and Mr. *Oates*, which he then denied, as well as some Words which were proved he had said to Mr. *Oates*, viz. *That he knew enough to ruine the Duke and all his Party*, he was, by Order of the Council, committed to the *Gate-House*. It seems Mr. *Oates* was at *Oxford*, and would have had the same Degree of Doctor as he pretended to have had at *Salamanca*, but they refused him.

We are told, their Royal Hignesses, in their Passage for *Scotland*, stayed some Days at *York* to rest themselves before they went into *Scotland*, and that the Lord Mayor and Aldermen did not shew that Respect to them which they expected; of which the King being informed, and that their Behaviour differed much from what it did before, at the Duke's former Passage there, his Majesty was thereupon much displeased, the which he signified to the Lord Mayor and

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and Aldermen of that City, letting them know, that his Majesty expects, whenever the Duke passes that Way again, that they treat him in the same Manner as they did formerly, and that they shew him that Respect which becomes all good Subjects to shew to the King's Brother. The Scots seem greatly pleased at the Duke's Coming, and that they shall have a Court kept amongst them.

November the 3^d, 1679, I am told, they are again at *London* launched into the Business of the Plot, one *Dangerfield* having been several Days before the Council in Examination; but People are not very hasty to give Credit to his Relation, who hath been once, if not oftener, in the Pillory, and is now in *Newgate*. A Proclamation is in the Press, and will suddenly issue out, for giving Notice, that whoever knows any thing of the Plot, and does not discover it before the End of next *February*, he is to expect the Penalty of the Law for Misprision of Treason, and is not to have any Benefit of Pardon. About this time there was another new Discoverer of the Plot upon the King's Life come in: He was a Servant to Sir *Thomas Gascoign*, a *Yorkshire* Gentleman of a great Estate, and great Age. However, he is sent for to *Whitehall* by a Messenger. These several Discoverers, will, I hope, let us see the Bottom, or at least the End once of this Matter. I am informed from a good Hand at *Whitehall*, of a warm Report spread abroad, that the Earl of *Essex*, First Commissioner of the Treasury,

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and his Brother Sir Henry Capel, First Commissioner of the Admiralty, are both withdrawing themselves from the Court and Council, tho' there be no Reason yet known for it, the King not having shewed any Disfavour to either of them. The Humour is much changed, when such Men quit their Places without any visible Reasons; and therefore we may well think the King will be as willing to accept, as they are to resign.

I had Letters from *Whitehall* of the 20th of *November*, which said, the Duke of *Monmouth* came to Town unlook'd for; that so soon as his Coming was known, the People made Bonfires, shot off Guns, and rung their Bells. He offered to see the King, but his Majesty not only refused him, because he returned without his Orders, but forbad him the Court, and ordered him to return within Twenty Four Hours, when Preparations were making of new Bonfires, which were suppressed; and yet the Duke continued still in Town, the 8th of *December*, but stript of all Employments, and no great Talk of him.

An Address hath been made to the King by Eight Lords, for the Meeting of the Parliament at the Time appointed, and the same has been done by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to the King in Council, where, after the Lord Chancellor had done, the King spoke himself, and told the Lord Mayor and Aldermen with great Earnestness, That he could not endure any longer those factious Doings, and expected the City of *London* should be an Example to
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the whole Kingdom, &c. A Proclamation was then ordered to be printed and published, to forewarn all People from signing such Petitions, shewing the Danger they will run themselves into by so doing.

The 15th of October 1679, the Justices of *Middlesex* and *Westminster* were called before the Privy Council, and were strictly charged to put the Laws in Execution against the Papists, and that they should meet and consult of such Expedients as they should think most effectual, and return the same to the Board; and a Committee of the Council were appointed Commissioners to receive and consider of such Propositions, and to propose such other Expedients as should occur to them. Hereupon the Justices of Peace of *Middlesex* and *Westminster* did make their Report to the Council, of the several Expedients which they had agreed to amongst themselves, for the better executing the Laws against Papists, which the Privy Council approved of. It seems, notwithstanding the Proclamation, some seditious People would fain bring on the Petitions, as well about the Court, as in *Essex*; and tho' they are not considerable enough to bring the Matter to any Head, yet it may give Encouragement to others, if it be not punished: And upon Information of this, the Privy Council have sent for Three or Four of the principal Persons engaged herein, and the great Expectation is, to see how they will proceed against them: And it is suspected, that the City of *London*, with some of the Coun-

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ties adjoining, have not quite laid aside their Design of Petitioning his Majesty for a Parliament, notwithstanding there is small Appearance it will be to any Effect. In the meantime, the Privy Council have taken several Resolutions concerning the vigorous Prosecution of the Papists, which will be executed without any Connivance or Partiality, and the particular Method that will be taken, is set down in a Proclamation that is now in the Press for that Purpose. We are told from *Scotland*, that the Duke has taken his Place in the Privy Council of *Scotland*, and as First Prince of the Blood, was dispensed with as to taking the Oaths, which is likewise the Practice in *England*: For, at the forming the present Privy Council, all the Lords were sworn, except Prince *Rupert*, who being a Prince of the Blood, he was not sworn.

In *June* 1680, I received this ensuing Letter from Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*.

S I R,

I Am infinitely obliged to you for your constant Correspondence. Last Night, a Defensive Alliance between his Majesty and the King of Spain was signed: It is the same in Effect with that made in 1673, between Spain and Holland, and that in 1678 between his Majesty and Holland. It is his Majesty's Instruction to all his Ministers abroad, not to make any Flourish or Noise on our Part of this League, but only to own and avow (upon all Occasions that shall be given by the Enquiries of other Men) that there

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is such a League newly made; that it is such a one that can give no Offence or Umbrage to any Neighbour Prince, it being purely defensive, and inducing no Obligation, but that the two Kings defend each other in their present Peace and Possessions, against any that shall aggress or invade them. I am, Sir,

Your most Humble Servant,
L. JENKINS.

Some time after this, the Earl of Danby petitioned the King and House of Lords, that he might be tryed; but nothing being done in it, his Lordship petitioned farther, that he might be bailed, and his Case was argued by Mr. *Polexton*, *Wallop*, and *Holt*, and likewise by my Lord himself. The Substance of what was said is reducible to Four Heads. First, The King's Prerogative. Secondly, The Liberty of the Subject. Thirdly, The Privilege of Parliament: And Fourthly, The Jurisdiction of the Court of King's Bench.

First, It was urged, That, by bailing of my Lord, the King's Prerogative would be maintained, which would otherwise suffer by his longer Confinement: For that he produced the King's Pardon, as a great Motive to incline the Court to bail him. Besides that, Mr. Attorney had declared the King's particular Inclination to consent to it; and the King having Power to pardon a Person impeached (which Mr. *Polexton* said no Man of the Robe ought to question) tho' the Impeachment be not at his Suit, it was hoped the Court would take so much Notice of these

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these Intimations of his Majesty's Justice, as to let my Lord out upon Bail, whereby they would assert the King's true Power and just Prerogative; it being hard, that there shall not be a Power of Bailing where there is a Power of Pardoning.

Secondly, The Liberty of the Subject will be preserved by it; for if there be no Remedy for any Person impeached, but that he must lye by it, till he be enlarged by the same Power that committed him, it would follow, that, during the Recesses of Parliament, a Failure of Justice would arise, which will be a heavy Blow to that natural Freedom to which the Subjects of *England* by Birth-right are intituled; and such a Punishment as is not only a Condemnation, but may prove even an Execution before Tryal: For probably, my Lord being oppressed with the Inconvenience of the Place, and with his own Infirmities, may die in the Jayl before his Enlargement by his Peers, and the Stain of his Impeachment dwell upon his Memory, and his Posterity for ever: For the Prevention of which lamentable Case, and for Preservation of that due Liberty which the King's Subjects ought to have, it was conceived that my Lord ought to be bailed.

Thirdly, The Privileges of Parliament would not hereby be infringed; for, to bail a Man being committed by a superior Court, is not to assume a Jurisdiction of his Cause, or any way to claim a Cognizance of it (which it was granted the Court of King's Bench, in Cases of Impeach-

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Impeachment, ought not to do) but it was only an enlarging of his Prison, or (as Mr. *Wallop* said, a lengthening of his Chain, instead of his remaining *in arcta custodia*, for so is every Man let out upon good Bail presumed to be; and the Law looks upon his Forthcoming to be as secure as if he were under close Confinement; So that such a Proceeding as this is not to intrench, or to encroach upon the Privileges of Parliament, but only to avoid a great Evil, a Failure of Justice.

Fourthly, By bailing my Lord of *Danby*, the Court would assert their own Jurisdiction, it being conceived that the Court of King's Bench have always intermeddled with Circumstances and mediate Acts relating to things done in Parliament, thereafter, as the Necessity of the Case required (tho' not with the very things themselves) and to that Purpose several Precedents were cited; as one of *Okey*; and two other Traitors, who were attainted in Parliament, and before Execution awarded, there happened a Prorogation. Whereupon the Record of their Conviction was removed into the King's Bench, and the Prisoners brought to the Bar, and having nothing to say why Execution should not be awarded against them, were accordingly executed. This was the Sum of what was said by all those that argued. The Court was divided, whether they should give their Opinion presently, or take Time; but they resolved to consider till the next Term, and my Lord was again remanded to Prison.

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Upon this Occasion, I have thought fit to give a Copy of the Lord Chief Justice *Pemberton's* Charge, upon summing up the Evidence upon the Tryal of *Fitzharris* in London.

THE Prisoner at the Bar, Gentlemen of the Jury, is charged with Treason, for Libelling the Government, and setting others to do it. Whether *Fitzharris* be the Author of this Libel, or not, is the Question. The Evidence against him is very great. *Mr. Everard* declares to you the whole Design and Discourse with him; he tells you the Manner, and gives you the very Grounds on which the Libel was to be written. It was, to raise Sedition, to make an Insurrection, and to stir up People to rebel. *Mr. Everard* was so cautious, that he walked not alone in this Case, but with much Prudence declared it to others, that they might be Witnesses with him, and *Mr. Smith* agrees with him in all things: How he heard *Fitzharris* give the Directions for making this Libel, heard the Design of it, and the Reward promised for the doing it, which was the first Night. The next Night *Sir William Waller* was present, and says, *Fitzharris* gave the same Instructions, and owned them; and what is not to be answered, they are all under his own Hand; which Directions are Treason enough, and is as strong an Evidence against him as perhaps ever was; and I think a plainer Evidence cannot be given, than that *Fitzharris* is the Author of this Libel. The Witnesses he brings for himself are *Mr. Oates* and *Mr. Cornish*;

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nish: The First says, That Mr. Everard told him, this was a Design, and that it should be put into the Pockets of some Lords and Members of Parliament, and that they should be apprehended and questioned for the Libel: But Mr. Everard upon his Oath testifies he never said any such thing. Then Mr. Cornish says, That having some Discourse with his Majesty concerning Mr. Fitzharris, the King said, he was an ill Man, and had some Money from him for some Service he promised to do him; but it can never be thought, that the King would give Money to stir up his Subjects against him, or to hazard all that is near and dear to him: And if you believe Fitzharris's own Hand-writing, or any Evidence that can be given, 'tis a plain Case that he is Guilty: And for saying, he would charge you with his Blood, because he is impeached by the Commons, that's nothing at all to the Matter, nor are you to have any Consideration, whether we have Power to try him, or not; that is a Question already determined: There lyes no more before you, who are the Jury, but only to consider, whether Guilty, or Not Guilty. And as to the Vote of the Commons, that can no more alter the Laws of the Land, than a Letter to us from the King, of which we are not to take Notice, being upon our Oaths to do Justice, and see if he be Guilty, or not. If he be Guilty, you can no more spare him, than condemn an innocent Man. The Vote of the House of Commons can neither excuse us nor you: We are to try Matters of Law, and you the Matter of Fact. But you, Mr. Johnson,
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who are the Foreman of the Jury, to give you all manner of Satisfaction, this Doubt was moved to my Brother Jones, when he gave the Charge to the Grand Jury; upon which all the Judges of England met, and they all agreed we might try him: And this was done, to remove all manner of Scruple that might arise.

Some few Days after this, Sheriff Bethel having received a Warrant for the Execution of Mr. Oliver Plunket and Mr. Fitzbarris, the First was put upon a Sledge at Newgate, and delivered to the Sheriff, who carried him with a strong Guard to the Place of Execution, and where he spoke as follows.

TO the final Satisfaction of all Persons who have the Charity to believe the Words of a dying Man, I declare before God, and as I hope for Salvation, that what I have said, and what is contained in a Paper signed with my own Hand, is the plain and naked Truth, without any Equivocation, mental Reservation, or any secret Evasion whatsoever, taking the Words in their usual Sense and Meaning, as Protestants do, when they discourse with all Candor and Sincerity.

Having made this Protestation, and prayed, he was tyed up, and afterwards quartered, and his Bowels burnt. Captain Richardson, Keeper of Newgate, being asked by the Lieutenant of the Tower, how his Prisoner had behaved himself?

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self? he replied, *Very well: For when I came to him this Morning, he was newly awake, having slept all Night without any Disturbance; and when I told him, he was to prepare for his Execution, he received the Message with all Quietness of Mind, and went to the Sledge as unconcerned, as if he had been going to a Wedding.*

The same Day, after this Execution, the Sheriff went to the Tower, and at the Barriers on Tower-Hill Mr. Fitzbarris was delivered to him, whom he carried with a strong Guard thro' the City to the Place of Execution; and being asked by the Sheriff, of what Religion he died? he replied, *A Protestant*; and being urged to make a Confession, he said,

Good People,

I *Am come hitber to die an ignominious Death, the Manner of which troubles me more than Death it self: The Crimes for which I am accused and condemned I am guiltless of; and what Sir William Waller and Mr. Smith swore against me is false. All that I have to say more is contained in this Paper:*

Which he gave to Mr. Hawkins the Minister, who, after the Execution, gave the Sheriff a Copy of it, the Original being sent to the King at Windsor.

The Duke of Monmouth having lately passed up and down the Kingdom in a Manner that gave much Offence to his Majesty; and having been at *West-Chester*, where the Mayor being a

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Fanatick, and his Wife Neice to the late *Bradshaw*, the Great Traitor, his Grace was very well received by them; but at *Litchfield*, *Coventry*, and other Places, neither the Magistrates nor Gentry took much Notice of him. However, by the King's Command, a Sergeant at Arms was sent down to *Stafford* to bring him up; and being brought to one of the Secretaries of State, after Examination of him, he committed him by a second Warrant to the Custody of the Sergeant at Arms (which Warrant charged his Grace to have passed thro' several Parts of the Kingdom, with great Numbers of People, in a riotous Manner, to the Disturbance of the Publick Peace, and to the Terror of the King's good Subjects) who was to keep him in Custody, till he should give Security to appear at the King's Bench, the First Day of the next Term, to answer to such Information as should be brought against him on the King's Behalf; and that in the mean time he should be of good Behaviour. And the First Day of the Term the Duke of *Monmouth* was upon his *Habeas Corpus* brought before Judge *Raymond*, where he gave the desired Security; the Earl of *Clare*, the Lord *Russel*, Lord *Grey*, Mr. *Gower* and Mr. *Offeley*, being his Bail. The Duke was bound in Ten Thousand Pounds, and the Bail each in Two Thousand Pounds. The Behaviour of the Duke gives the King every Day more Offence, and particularly his having accosted the Earl of *Hallifax* with very unbecoming Language, upon Account

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count of something supposed his Lordship had said in Council concerning the Duke of *Monmouth*. The King was pleased in Council to declare, That he looked upon it as an Insolence offered to himself, for any one to question a Privy Counsellour for any thing said in Council; and did strictly forbid all Persons having any Relation to his Service, to have for the future any Communication with the Duke of *Monmouth*, who hath been so angry with his Wife for seeing the Dutchess, by whom she was very kindly received, that the Duke of *Monmouth* will not see his Dutchess.

An Action of *Scandalum Magnatum*, in Behalf of the Duke, was brought against Mr. *Pilkington*, for Words spoken by him when his Royal Highness dined last in *London* with the *Artillery Company*. The Words spoken were these: *He hath burnt the City, and is now come to cut our Throats: Innuendo the Duke of York*. The Jury were all Gentlemen of Quality of *Hertfordshire* (which County Mr. *Pilkington* had chosen) and they gave his Royal Highness One Hundred Thousand Pounds Damage; which will doubtless teach factious Persons, who have lived of late with so much Licence in their Discourses, to govern their Tongues better.

Letters from *Scotland* tell us, that Affairs go there according to Wish: That the Parliament there have written a Letter of Thanks to the King, for sending the Duke of *York*, which we hope will break the Measures of those

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who flattered themselves with a Support from that Kingdom, which has not been in many Ages more united than it is at present, under the prudent Conduct of his Royal Highness. Our Letters from thence tell us, that the Lords of the Articles had prepared three publick Bills; the First, for recognizing the Rights of the Crown and the Succession; the Second, for continuing a Tax for Five Years longer, for Maintainance of the standing Forces: The Third, a Bill for establishing the Protestant Religion, which passed very chearfully in the Articles, and Duke *Hamilton* concurred in them all. The Letters add, That the Duke is highly esteemed and beloved of all Sorts of People, and that there is a constant and great Court of Lords and Ladies. Major *Oglethorp* brings this Account, which is very pleasing to all the People in this Court.

The Apprentices in *London* presented their Petition to his Majesty, with Twelve Thousand Hands, to give his Majesty Thanks for his late Declaration. It met with a gracious Acceptance, and those that carried it were introduced by the Lord Chamberlain, and had the Honour to kiss his Majesty's Hand. The King gave them a Brace of Bucks out of *Hyde Park*, and they made a great Feast in *London*. The Duke of *Albemarle*, and many of the Nobility did them the Honour to be present at their Feast, which they intend to keep annually; and the Duke of *Grafton* and the Earl of *Feversham* have done them the Honour to be their Stewards

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ards for the next Year. The Apprentices of *Bristol*, in Imitation of those of *London*, have subscribed an Address, to give the King their most humble Thanks for his gracious Declaration. The Nobility and Gentry of *Norfolk* have done the like; and the Addresses from all Parts on the same Account come in very fast; and one has been presented from the Lieutenancy of *London*, and from *Southwark*, and 'tis wished they may have the good Effect they were intended for.

The Lord Mayor of *London*, with the Court of Aldermen, attended the King at *Hampton-Court* with a Petition from the Common Council, desiring his Majesty to assemble a Parliament. The Lord Chancellor, by the King's Command, gave them a very severe Reprimand, telling them, that the King wondered how they durst bring such a Paper to him in Name of the City, when it was against the Sense of the best Part of the City: That the King knew there were restless Spirits amongst them, and would set a Mark upon them; and that if they went on in those Courses, he would make them sensible of his Displeasure. The 7th of *July* 1681, the Lord Mayor came again to *Hampton-Court*, with a Petition of the Common Council, and the Lord Chancellor gave them an Answer much like the last. This Morning the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was taken by a Warrant from Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, and his Trunks and Papers seized, and both he and they were carried before the Council, where he was exami-

ned so privately, that all the Clerks of the Council were turned out. It is said, he was taken upon the Information of Mr. *Haynes*, Mr. *Macknamarra*, and *Ivy*, who, 'tis said, corroborate the Testimony *Fitzbarris* gave to Mr. *Hawkins*, amongst whose Papers is found one of Instructions or Directions to *Fitzbarris*, with several Heads of what he should plead, and what he should swear to. The Hand is very well known, and will be made publick. The King was present at this extraordinary Council held at *Whitehall*, where the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was brought in Custody of a Sergeant at Arms, and was told there was a Charge of High Treason against him, which would be proved by several Witnesses; whereupon he was committed to the *Tower*, and that Evening the Duke of *Monmouth*, with several Lords, went to visit him, which occasioned a greater Restraint upon him; and he and my Lord *Howard* are both close Prisoners, and only their Wives are permitted to come to them.

The Proceedings this Session at the *Old Baily* were very remarkable, most of the Judges being there, and many Persons of the first Quality; as, the Duke of *Monmouth*, and several others. Mr. *Wallop* and Mr. *Williams* pleaded hard for the *Habeas Corpus* for the Earl of *Shaftsbury* and the Lord *Howard*: But the *Tower* being a Prison out of the City, and their Meeting being only a Session of *Oyer and Terminer*, the *Habeas Corpus* could not lye in that Court. A Bill of Indictment was then presented

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ted to the Grand Jury of the City of *London*, against *Colledge*, the *Protestant Joyner*, as he was always called. The Witnesses against him were *Mr. Smith*, *Mr. Dugdale*, *Mr. Haynes*, the two *Macknamara's*, and *Sir William Jennings*. They all positively swore, that *Colledge* told them, there was a Design to seize the King at *Oxford*, and bring him to *London*, and there keep him, till he had complied with them, or else to bring him to the Block, as they did his Father; and that in this Design the House of Lords and Commons were concerned, and that there was an Army ready at *London* to assist them. It is certainly true, that never Men swore more firmly than they did in Court, before the Jury, who demanded of the Court a Copy of their Oaths, and that the Witnesses might go with them, to be examined apart; which Request was granted to the Jury, and after two or three Hours Consideration, the Jury returned, and found the Bill *Ignoramus*. Upon which the Lord Chief Justice demanded, whether they would give no Reason for this Verdict; and whether they believed those Six Witnesses perjured? To which they replied, That they had given their Verdict according to their Consciences, and that they would stand by it. To which the Lord Chief Justice *North* said, *There was never such a Verdict brought in the World*. The Grand Jury, before they were discharged, delivered a Petition to the Court, desiring the Removal of the Priests and Jesuits farther from the Lords in the *Tower*, they

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holding Correspondence with them. Upon bringing in this Bill *Ignoramus*, *Colledge* will be sent to be tryed in *Oxford*, where the Judges arrived the 15th of *July*. Their Commission was opened, and the Grand Jury was sworn, of which Sir *Thomas Spencer* was Foreman; the rest were all Gentlemen of Loyalty, and Protestants, and of good Estates; and upon hearing the Evidence against *Colledge*, they found the Indictment *Billa vera, nemine contradicente*. One of the Evidence against him swore, That if the King did not agree with his Parliament, there was a Design to seize upon him, and Thirty Thousand Men were ready in the City of *London* to back the Design; and that if the King refused to pass the Bill of Exclusion, they would serve him as they did his Father. This *Colledge* was brought to his Tryal at *Oxford*, before the Lord Chief Justice *North* and Justice *Jones*. The Tryal lasted from Two in the Afternoon, till Two in the Morning, so much Time was taken up in examining the Witnesses. The Evidence against the Prisoner was the same which was at the *Old-Baily*; those for the Prisoner were chiefly Mr. *Oates*, *Mowbray*, and *Waldron*, who said, that *Dugdale* and *Smith* told them, they knew nothing against *Colledge*; but they denied it upon their Oaths, and the Jury brought him in Guilty; and some Hours after the Prisoner received his Sentence, the Court meeting again for that Purpose. Some Days after, *Colledge* was executed, and his Head was set
upon

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upon *Temple-Bar*, to be a Warning to others to avoid his Fate.

Mr. *Sidney* in *Holland* finding that his Majesty was much surprized at his having taken a Commission in *Holland*, without his Leave, to be General of all the *Englisb* Forces there, which hath been vacant since the Death of the Earl of *Offory*, hath been perswaded by his Friends to resign that Employment to the Earl of *Arran*, Son to Duke *Hamilton*, who is now very well at the Court in *Scotland*, and has the King's Leave to accept of the *Scotch* Regiment in *Holland*, whereof *Kilpatrick* was Collonel, which the Prince of *Orange* has offered him.

About this time the Prince of *Orange* came for *England*, and was very well received by the King and Court, and had been several times in private with the King. Various Discourses are raised about his Coming, and his Return will be very sudden. He hath been something unlucky at Play, having lost in one Night, Three Thousand Pounds at *Basset*. His Highness, whilst in *London*, lodges at *Arlington-House*, where he hath been magnificently entertained at the King's Charge, and hath been likewise treated very splendidly by the Duke of *Albemarle*. His Highness was also invited to dine with the Lord Mayor of *London*, and accepted the Invitation, and great Preparations were made for his Reception; and as he was preparing to dine in *London*, he received an Express from his Majesty to come presently to *Windsor*, which he did, and the Secretary of State carried his Excuse.

cuse. After this the Lord Mayor sent the two Sheriffs to invite his Highness to dine with him, who promised the next Day to dine with his Lordship; But the King sent for him again that Day; whereupon his Highness sent his own Secretary to excuse it, and left the Lord Mayor under a very great Disappointment: And not many Hours before he left *Windsor*, a Cabinet Council was there held concerning *Flanders*, wherein the Prince of *Orange* was present; but the Reason of his Coming is still kept very secret, which none can tell. About this time the Lord Mayor carried up an Address of the Common Hall to the King at *Hampton-Court*, and gave it to the King in Council. Sir *John Skorter*, Sir *Robert Clayton*, Mr. *Bethel*, and Mr. *Cornish* attended upon his Lordship, who having presented the Address to his Majesty, he was pleased to return this Answer by the Lord Chancellor.

My Lord,

YOU have presented the King with a Paper, which hath been publicly printed long since; and the King doth not believe it is now presented so much for the Satisfaction of his Majesty, as to serve for some other End. The King knows that the major Part of the City are well inclined to his Service, and that it is not in the Power of a few ill Men amongst them to corrupt the rest. The King therefore doth not believe this to be so unanimous a Vote of the City as is pretended; and he commands me

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to tell you, that if he did believe it were so (as he does not) that you have meddled with a thing that is none of your Business; and so dismissed them.

The Carriage of Mr. Oates has been such, especially at the Tryal of Colledge, where he was a Witness against the King, in things wherein he was notoriously disproved, that his Majesty hath thought fit to take from him the Pensions he gave him, as also the Lodging he had at *Whitehall*, which was intimated to him with a Command to leave the Court. The King hath likewise commanded the Lodgings the Earl of *Mecklesfield* and the Lord *Manchester* had at Court to be taken from them; and at the same time the young Lord *Mordaunt* (who hath for some time associated with the discontented Lords) hath made his Peace, and waited upon the King.

About this time I received a Letter from Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*, written with his own Hand, in these Words following, dated the 19th of *August* 1681.

S I R,

Yours come so regularly, that I cannot sufficiently acknowledge your great Care and punctual Correspondence. I send you now two Acts of Parliament from Scotland, that will not be unwelcome to you: A Third is coming out (being agreed by the Lords of the Articles) whereby the Subsidies to the Militia are continued

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nued for Five Years longer. This Term is to commence when the present Act expires, which will be in 1683. 'Twill be no Matter of Delight to you, that Colledge had Sentence of Death pronounced against him at Oxford, for High Treason; but it will please you to hear the Addresses still go on, and that an Address will be presented to his Majesty on Sunday, from Northamptonshire, with Ten Thousand Hands. I am, &c. Yours,

L. JENKINS.

I had another Letter from the same Hand, the 23d of September 1681.

S I R,

I Have the Favour of yours to acknowledge, I did never understand that the Places which the French have now seized into their own Hands, were Dependencies of China, and therefore I would fain know upon what Account the French have possessed themselves of several other Places, that are not so much as pretended to be Dependencies of China. I take Leave to inclose a List of the publick Acts passed in Scotland, before the Prorogation, which was on the 17th Instant to the 1st of March. His Royal Highness hath not only come up to the Full of his Instructions, but hath done more for that Crown, than hath been done for a very long Time before. I am with much Esteem,

Your most Humble Faithful Servant,

L. JENKINS.

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The Sessions at *Hickes's Hall* for the County beginning, and Sir *George Jeffries* being Chairman, he objected against the Persons that were returned to serve on the Grand Jury, as being Dissenters from the Church of *England*, and required the Under-Sheriff to make a new Panel of substantial good Men; which he refusing, the Court ordered the Sheriffs themselves should attend the next Day: But, instead of them, the Recorder of *London* appeared, and told the Court, that the Sheriffs having acquainted the Court of Aldermen with the Order, they were of Opinion, that the Privilege of the City did exempt the Sheriffs from any Attendance at *Hickes's Hall*; and that it was sufficient if the Under-Sheriff did their Business: But the Court not allowing the Excuse, for their Contempt, fined the two Sheriffs One Hundred Pounds, and then adjourned, and resolved to acquaint the Judges with the Matter. Mr. *Wilson*, a Secretary to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, was seized and committed Prisoner to the *Gate-House*, for High Treason, in conspiring the Deposing of the King. The same Day several of the *East India Company* waited on the King, and presented him with Ten Thousand Guineas. The *Heer Van Beuningben* had then a long Audience of the King, and was afterwards in Conference with the Ministers, about the Affairs of *Flanders*. The same Day the Recorder of *London*, with the two Sheriffs, came to *Whitehall*, to invite the King to Dinner.

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on the *Lord Mayor's Day*. The King said, he would on all Occasions express his Kindness to the City, and that he would dine with the Lord Mayor, tho' he received the Invitation by very unwelcome Messengers, meaning the two Sheriffs. I was assured from a very good Hand at *Whitehall*, that a Petition was presented to the King, in the Name of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, wherein he prayed his Liberty, and offered to transport himself and Family to *Carolina*; but his Petition was not received, or at least not answered. I am told, that Sir *Peter Wyche* is called home from *Hambourg*, and that Mr. *Skelton* is to reside there in his Place as the King's Minister to all the Princes in that Quarter. The 18th of *November 1681*, I received this ensuing Letter from Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*.

S I R,

WE are here in great Pain about *Luxembourg*: I take therefore Leave of my own Head, to desire you to inform your self (the most exactly that you can) of the Condition of that City: What Charges soever you shall be at, I shall most willingly reimburse. I desire you to send an Express, for we have no good Account of any thing but what we have from you. I am, Sir, with much Esteem,

Your most Humble Faithful Servant,
L. JENKINS.

In the Beginning of this Year, the *Duc de Villa Hermosa* finished his Government of *Flanders*,

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ders, and was recalled, and the *Prince de Parma* was sent in his Place, who governed all by *Count d'Arquinto* his First Minister; who received all Addresses, and answered them; but had not been long in the Government, before the *Marquis de Grana* was sent from *Spain* thro' *England*, to be Governour of Arms in *Flanders*, and to have the Disposition of the Finances and Money; to which if the *Prince de Parma* did not agree, he was then to leave the Government to the *Marquis de Grana*; but this Matter was kept very private, and the *Marquis* took a private House near the Court. The *Prince de Parma* looking upon this as a very extraordinary Proceeding, was resolved to leave the Government, and using each Evening to take the Air in his Coach, he went away privately to *Liege*, from whence he sent back his Coaches and Retinue to *Count d'Arquinto*, with Order to pay his Debts. And thus the *Prince de Parma* quitted the Government; and upon his retiring, the *Marquis de Grana* took upon him the absolute Government, and immediately had the King's Palace prepared for him. But before the *Prince de Parma* parted, I had Letters of Credence to him, with a Letter from the King; and besides my particular Letters, I had a Letter from Mr. Secretary *Jenkins* by the King's Command, dated the 29th of July 1681.

S I R,

S I R,

I Am commanded by his Majesty, to signify to you, that it is his Pleasure you should employ your best Endeavours to get my Lord of Castlehaven satisfied of his Arrears in that Country, his Majesty being graciously pleased to give him what Assistance is usual in that kind. This the King commanded me yesterday, and withal that, I should take my Instructions from my Lord of Castlehaven himself. His Lordship called upon me this Morning, and told me, the King having referred him to me, his Desire to you was, that his Arrears might be paid himself as Serjeant General of Battle, and his two Sons as Collonels: And that till his Lordship do receive his Arrears, both for himself and his two Sons (with which Arrears he intends to pay his Debts) his Protection may be renewed and prolonged to him. This I have in Command from his Majesty, whereunto I take Leave to add the Assurance of my being with Esteem, Sir,

Your most Humble and Faithful Servant,
L. JENKINS.

Upon this Letter, I presented a Memorial to the Prince de Parma, pursuant punctually to those Directions which I received from Sir Lionel Jenkins; to which I received this ensuing Answer, which is faithfully translated out of Spanish into English.

Although

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Although I could refer my self to what I have represented to his Majesty of Great Britain, and to what I have told your Seigniorie in divers Discourses, touching the Interest of the Lord Castlehaven; yet, nevertheless, to satisfy the Instances your Seigniorie hath made on the Part of the King your Master, for the Payment of the Arrears due to his Lordship, as Serjeant General de Battaile, and Maistre de Camp, I hope your Seigniorie will let your Court know, that it was not the King of Spain, but the Duc de Villa Hermosa that did give the English Regiment to the two Sons of my Lord successively, reducing it to two Companies, which never had in the whole Fourscore Men: And yet the great Esteem I bear to the Arms of the King of Great Britain, would not permit me to suffer them to be governed by those whose Age made them uncapable. Adding to this, the Care I took to give Satisfaction to his Lordship, which I found impossible for his Inconstancy and little Settledness, and the Longing he had to quit the Service without Leave, the which I winked at, in respect of the Character he bore of being a Subject to so great a King; and also, that much was to be connived at in the Court by such as knew his natural Temper. According to what I have been informed in gross by the Notices I have had from the several Offices, there is little due to his Lordship; yet, notwithstanding, I have ordered the Account to be made in particular, and so soon as we have Money, his Lordship shall be paid what is due to him.

For

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For the rest, I remit my self to the King my Master what he shall resolve upon touching the Person of his Lordship, to whom I have given an Account of all that hath passed. Given at the Palace, the 19th of August 1681.

Alexander Farnese.

Au Seigneur Bulstrode, Resident du Roy de la Grande Brittain.

The 14th of October 1681, I received the ensuing Letter from Mr. Secretary Jenkins.

S I R,

I Have yours regularly, and thank you for them with all my Heart. What you have written to me in Count d'Arquinto's Name, hath been humbly laid before the King, with your separate Letter upon that Subject, and the Hints you have given in your general Letters: The whole Matter is at present before his Majesty; and when any Resolution comes to my Knowledge, I shall be glad to impart it to you with the soonest. My Lord of Castlehaven fills the King's Ears, and every body's else, with his Complaints: He desires you would have a Care of his Goods, that they be not sold, for he will send Money to redeem them speedily, as he tells his Majesty. I am, Sir, &c.

L. JENKINS.

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The 11th of November following, I had this following Letter from the same Hand.

S I R,

I Have the Favour of your Letters: That which contained the Message of the Prince de Parma by the Count d'Arquinto, being Matter of Haste and Importance, I would most gladly have taken his Majesty's Pleasure upon it; but I must beg your Respite till after Sunday, when, at the Committee of Foreign Affairs, it will be proper to treat of it. In the Interim, I send you the Answer of his Majesty to the States Generals Minister's Memorial; you may see by it the Concern his Majesty hath for the Spanish Netherlands. Yours, &c.

L. JENKINS.

The King hath taken a Resolution to put the Laws in Execution against Dissenters; and for that Purpose he sent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and the Justices of Peace of *Middlesex*. My Lord Chancellor told them in the King's Name, that he had long connived at the Non-Execution of the Laws against Dissenters, but that he found his Kindness had been shewed to a sort of People that returned all his Goodness with all the Disservices and Dissaffection to himself and the Government, that they were capable of: That therefore his Majesty was resolved they should know what the Law could do, and that they should suddenly see the Effects of his Majesty's Commands. The 26th

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of December 1681, I had another Letter from Mr. Secretary *Jenkins* in these Words.

S I R,

I Have the Favour of several of yours, and you oblige us exceedingly in giving us so punctual Accounts of what occurs on your Side. We are most in Pain about the Places the French are now blocking up; and the more punctual the Account is that you give us of the State and Government of that Country, the better will his Majesty be enabled to take the proper Measures for the general Good. Sure I am, that his Majesty does take infinite Pains, in order to cease the present Violences, and to prevent those that may happen: And you may assure your self (tho' you should not be able to perswade others) that there will appear Evidences of his Majesty's Concern, and that they are very sincere and assiduous for the Good of the Spanish Netherlands. Dear Sir, I am with much Esteem,

Your most Humble and Faithful Servant,
L. JENKINS.

The Duke of *Lauderdale* being dead, his Body will be carried into *Scotland*, and his Garter will be given to the Duke of *Northumberland*, who is at present by the King's Command in *Flanders*, in his Travels, Letters being sent to the King's Resident, to wait upon the Duke thro' those Territories, and he will return by *Holland*.

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The Duke being invited to dine in *London* at the Artillery Feast, some of the Factious have had a Project, that the Duke of *Moumouth*, the Lord *Shaftsbury*, and some others should dine together that Day, at some Hall in *London*; but it was not liked upon the declining of their Affairs.

The 17th of *July* 1682, the Common Hall of *London* meeting for the Choice of a Sheriff, the Sheriffs declared to the People, that *Papillion* and *Dubois* had each Two Thousand Voices, and were chosen; but the Lord Mayor hearing of it, went with the usual Solemnity, and declared Mr. *Box* the other Sheriff; and Mr. *North* and *Box* will hold, tho' great Endeavours will be used to dissuade them; and it is believed the Proceedings of the present Sheriffs will be severely punished. Upon the *Prince de Parma's* quitting the *Spanish* Government of *Flanders*, and the *Marquis de Grana's* taking it upon him, it's believed that Mr. *Thomas Howard* will make the King's Compliment to him.

About this time the Earl of *Shaftsbury* being brought to *Hicker's Hall*, to be tryed for High Treason. The Grand Jury found the Bill *Ignoramus*, whereupon he was acquitted, taken out of the Hands of Justice, and Medals dispersed for his Deliverance, Treason being frontless and secure. Such a bare-faced Affront to Authority can scarce be paralleled, as was seen at this time, when the King was soon over-perswaded to take away the Lives of many honest innocent Men, purely upon the false Assevera-

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tions of Persons to whom he was almost forced to give Pensions, being a Pack of profligated Villains, who were kept in Pay to accuse any Man that opposed their wicked Designs, without any Process of Law, hearing their Defence, or any Proof proffered against them. And after the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was thus quitted, he retired privately into *Holland*, where he died in the Beginning of 1683, of the Gout in his Stomach.

In *June* 1683, the Lord Mayor, with most of the Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Recorder, with a great Number of the principal Citizens of *London*, presented the King in Council with a Petition which had been before agreed in their Common Council, wherein they did in all humble Manner deprecate his Majesty's Displeasure against them, for their late Miscarriages in the Government of the City, promising all Obedience for the future, and humbly begging his Majesty's Directions for their better Conduct. The Petition was presented by the Lord Mayor kneeling, with the Aldermen and all the Citizens likewise, till the King was pleased to bid them rise. Then the Lord Mayor and the rest being withdrawn for some time, they were called in again. Then the Lord Keeper delivered to them his Majesty's Pleasure, representing the great Cause of Mislike that his Majesty had to their former Proceedings, telling them the particular Regulations that he thought necessary to require from them; concluding, that Judgment according to Form should be entered against

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against them on *Saturday* then following (which might prove very prejudicial to some of their Privileges and Customs, which were Matters of great Profit to them, with which his Majesty did not intend to meddle) unless they did, by the Time prescribed, voluntarily put into his Majesty's Hands, by such Conveyance as his Attorney, Solicitor, and Counsel learned shall think fit, the Approving of the Officers that have the principal Part in their Government; such as are the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Recorder, &c. so as none of them enter upon the Execution of their respective Offices, notwithstanding their being elected in usual Manner thereunto, till his Majesty shall also have approved of them under his Signet and Sign Manual: And many Particulars more were told them by my Lord Keeper. It was observed by every body present, that the Submission was very cordial, and that it was a great Satisfaction to the Citizens, that his Majesty took this Course to preserve their Peace, and to assert the just Rights of the Crown.

The next Day after there was a Common Hall in *London*, where it was resolved to comply with his Majesty's Demands, and they have saved Mr. Attorney the Trouble of entering Judgment: Whereupon I had this following Letter from Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*.

S I R,

I Have the Favour of yours to acknowledge, and in Return I send you the Lord Mayor's and City's Submission. Many of our Friends voted for a Seizure, upon a Scruple of Conscience, desiring rather the King should take those Liberties into his Hands by a Seizure, than come into a Possession of them by a Surrender, since that might blanch something upon the Oaths they took as Freemen. However, the Thing was carried by a Fair Poll for a Surrender. Every Man is well pleased, except those that are implacable, and some there are amongst us still, as it appears by what is now broken out; for every body's Mouth is full of a most horrid and bellish Plot against the Life of the King and his Royal Highness, wherein many People of the first Quality are concerned. I cannot yet give you any certain Account of the Particulars; but the Design was laid in short to shoot the King and Duke at their coming the last Season from Newmarket, but was prevented by the King's sudden coming from thence, by reason of the Fire which happened there. Several Persons are in Custody upon this Account; some are fled (as Goodenough, the late Under Sheriff, and one Mr. West) and by the Confession of one of the Accomplices, and by the Examination of another, there was a desperate Design against the King's Life (whom God preserve) and an Insurrection was designed to follow it. We have the Names of divers that are concerned, but find the Birds are flown. I shall

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shall be able to tell you more by the next, when you may expect farther Particulars: But this I may now tell you, that his Majesty (who does upon all Occasions too much slight these things) does believe there is great Appearance of Reality in that which is now come to Light. This hath been so busy a Day with me, that I have only Time to close this, and to tell you that I am, Sir, with much Esteem,

Your most Faithful Humble Servant,
L. JENKINS.

By another good Hand from Whitehall, of the 25th of June 1683, I am told, that Mr. West the Lawyer, and Collonel Ramsey, had surrendered themselves, and have been examined, and confessed the whole Design of killing the King and Duke, at their late coming from Newmarket, of which by God's Providence they were disappointed. It is certain, a more diabolical Design could never be contrived, and the Examinations already taken do plainly bring it to Light. Yesterday the Council met, and a Proclamation was ordered to be forthwith issued out, to tell all the World, that the Duke of Monmouth, the Lord Grey, Sir Thomas Armstrong, and one Ferguson, are of the Number of the Conspirators, and 500 L. is offered to such as shall bring in any of them. If the Duke of Monmouth be guilty of this Crime, sure it is in him more than High Treason, to which the greatest Punishments of human Laws are assigned. Collonel Algernoon Sidney is sent to the Tower for

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conspiring the Death of the King. The Lord *Russel* and Mr. *Trenchard* are likewise sent to the *Tower*, and Major *Wildman* is taken into Custody, in whose Lodgings two small Field-Pieces were found, altho' he declared at his being taken, he had no Arms in his House; and hereupon Orders were sent out to disarm all disaffected Persons, and a Committee of Lords were sent to the *Tower*, to examine Collonel *Sidney*.

My Lord *Grey* was carrying to the *Tower*, who made his Escape just at the *Tower Gate*, out of the Coach from the Sergeant at Arms, who was all alone with him and his Servant. He went directly to the Water Side, and passed over into *Southwark*. The Sergeant was asleep, or what is as bad, consenting to it. He refused to have a Guard of Soldiers, and will be prosecuted with all Severity. Major *Holmes*, an *Oliverian* Officer, and one Mr. *Baillie*, a *Scotchman*, are sent to the *Gate-house* for Treason; and *Hone* the Joyner is also seized, who hath been examined: And tho' he would not accuse others, he hath confessed enough to hang himself. The Conspiracy is confirmed by all, but especially by Mr. *Blaney*, who was privy to most of their Intrigues. His Majesty hath given Leave to the Lady *Russel* to see her Husband in the *Tower*. The Escape of the Duke of *Monmouth*, with some others of the Conspirators, is confirmed by Letters from *Portsmouth*, being embarqued on a Dogger Boat, with one *Lock* a rigid Presbyterian, who was

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was Master of her. *Mead*, an Independant Minister, with Six more, is brought from *Effex*. *Mead* is said to have administred a Sacrament of Secrecy to the Conspirators, and one *Bourn*, who is said to be one of those that were to give the fatal Blow.

The Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, and several of the Common Council, did in an humble Address to the King and his Royal Highness, congratulate their Delivery from the late Conspiracy: The same did Mr. *North* from *Southwark*, Mr. *Porter* from the *Middle Temple*, Sir *John Churchill*, and Mr. *James Butler* from *Lincolns Inn*. It is said, that Sir *Thomas Jones*, one of the Judges of the King's Bench, will be made Lord Chief Justice in the Place of Sir *Edmund Sanders*.

About this time I received this following Letter from Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*.

S I R,

I Have not yet given any Answer to the Spanish Memorial which I sent you by the last Post; but my Lord Sunderland hath to the Imperial, Holland, and Swedish ones: It is to this Effect, That the French Ambassador hath, by Order from the King his Master, declared to his Majesty, that he cannot consent to the Mediation proposed by the Allies. This is the Substance of the Answer; I hope by the next to send you the precise Words. Sir Henry Ingoldsby and Mr. Rouse are taken into Custody for treasonable Matters; and Mr. Aaron Smith is
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sent to the Tower for High Treason. The Lord Ruffel, Mr. West, and Hone the Joyner, have received Notice to prepare for their Tryal, and the Lady Ruffel presented a Petition to the King, humbly praying that her Husband might have such Council allowed him, as he shall judge necessary for his Defence at his intended Tryal.

I am, Sir, Your, &c.

L. JENKINS.

The 9th of July 1683, I received this ensuing Letter from Mr. Secretary Jenkins.

S I R,

OUR Toil here that hath hindered my writing to you, is so far from ceasing, that it increases daily. So universal, by God's Blessing, is the Discovery, and consequently, the Defeat of the Conspiracy. The Earl of Essex is sent for this Afternoon to the Council, and so is Mr. Henry Booth of Cheshire, and others. You will judge of the Reasonableness, or rather the Necessity of this Way of Proceeding, by the Account you will hear of the Tryal of some of the Conspirators, that will come on this Week. The Duke meets the King constantly at the Cabinet Council, as formerly. I am, Sir, ever,

Your most Humble and Faithful Servant,

L. JENKINS.

The Grand Jury of London have found Bills of Indictment against these Persons following: Thomas Walcot, Richard Goodenough, Richard Rumbold,

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Rumbold, Nathaniel Wade, Richard Neltborp, Robert Ferguson, William Thomson, James Burton, John Rouse, Edward Norton, James Holloway, Joseph Tilly, Francis Goodenough, William Hone, William Blague, Lord Russel, Lord Grey, Duke of Monmouth, Sir Thomas Armstrong; and accordingly Walcot, Rouse, Hone, and Blague, were arraigned immediately; and Walcot being brought to his Tryal, after a long Hearing, was found Guilty of High Treason by the Jury. He confess'd he was not to have killed the King, but had engaged himself to oppose the Guards. This Morning, being the 13th of July, the Lord Russel and Hone the Joyner, were brought to their Tryal, and found Guilty of High Treason. At the same time the King being visiting a Fortification that was making in the Tower, the Earl of Essex withdrawing into his Closet, cut his own Throat with his Razor, of which he died immediately.

The 14th of *July* the Privy Council met, and the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen attending, were sent for into the Council, and the Lord Chancellor told them, That the King had taken Notice of the irregular Proceeding of the Common Hall about the Election of Sheriffs, and the great Disorders occasioned thereby; and that, for the Prevention of farther Mischief, his Majesty did command the Lord Mayor to begin the whole Proceeding *de novo*, and that his Lordship should take great Care to maintain the ancient Customs of the City.

Where-

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Whereupon the Common Hall meeting, the Order of Council was read, and my Lord Mayor told them, That, in Obedience to it, they were to begin their whole Proceedings *de novo*, and accordingly Mr. North was put up to be confirm'd, and the Lord Mayor declared him one of the Sheriffs. Then they were to go to the Poll, which Sheriff *Chute* declared they did with a *salvo Jure* to their former Choice, and the Sheriffs had made a Column in their Poll Bill, to Poll negatively against Mr. North's Confirmation, with which the Lord Mayor was so unsatisfied, that he adjourned the Poll till the next Day, intending then his own Officers to take the Poll.

The 20th of July, *Walcot*, *Hone*, and *Rouse* were executed at *Tyburn*, the first of them most remarkably penitent, and hath made a Declaration under his Hand of many more Particulars of his own and others Guilt in this horrid Conspiracy, than hath been yet imputed to them. To morrow, the Lord *Russel* will lose his Head in *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*, of which I had this following Account from a very good Hand at *Whitehall*. On Saturday the Lord *Russel* was brought to the Place of his Execution in his own Coach, accompanied with Dr. *Tillotson* and Dr. *Burnet*. He behaved himself with great Courage. The Execution being ended, a Speech was published by his Lady's Direction, wherein were several Reflections defaming the Justice of the Nation; and Dr. *Burnet* being suspected to have had a Hand

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in it, he was examined before the Council about it; and one Johnson, the late Lord Russel's Chaplain, was examined, as well about the said Speech, as for some Passages in the Life of Julian the Apostate, whereof he was the Author. A Declaration containing an Account of the Rise and Progress of the present Conspiracy, hath been read and approved in Council, and in pursuance of it, the 9th of September is appointed a Day of solemn Thanksgiving in all Churches, for so great a Deliverance. At the same time I am told from Whitehall, that Prince George of Denmark was arrived; that he was a Person of a good Mein, and had dined with the King, Queen, and Duke, who gave the Prince the upper Hand. The Court will soon return to Windsor, where the Marriage between the Prince and Lady Anne will be consummated. His Presents (which are very noble) are presented to her, and their Families will be settled after the Manner of the Duke's and Dutchess's, but not so numerous. A Chapter will be held at Windsor for chusing Prince George into the most noble Order of the Garter; but the Prince hath desired it may be deferred, till he hath written to the King of Denmark, for his Leave to forbear wearing the Order of the Elephant, for that it would not be seemly to wear that and the Order of the Garter at the same time.

The King's Declaration concerning the Plot gives great Satisfaction, wherein the particular Steps and Methods of it were set down; and
Mr.

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Mr. *Carlton*, who is named in the King's Declaration, is brought up from *Oxfordshire*, where he was seized; and being very intimate with the late Earl of *Shaftsbury*, he hath been examined by the Council, and is still in the Messenger's Hands, and is putting in Writing what he knows of the Conspiracy, which is expected to be very considerable, because of his known Intimacy with the late Earl. The present Earl, and the Lord *Ashley* his Son (who is a very hopeful young Gentleman) have kissed the King's Hand at *Windsor*. The King hath desired his Royal Highness to forbear Hunting this Season, it not being safe for him at this time, when such villainous Designs are discovered against his Life. One Major *Creed*, and Major *Gladman*, two *Oliverian* Officers, are both seized upon Account of this Conspiracy. Mr. *Speake* of *Somersetshire* is also seized, and continues in the Custody of one of the King's Messengers; and Mr. *Hawkins* of the *Temple*, a great Confidant of the late Earl of *Shaftsbury*, hath been taken and examined before the Lords of the Council, and hath since had his Liberty upon Bail. The *Marquis de Tilladet*, and the *Marquis de la Fare*, were sent by the *French* King and the Duke of *Orleans*, to congratulate with his Majesty and his Royal Highness, upon the Discovery of this Conspiracy. The King sends the Earl of *Dumbarton* and the Duke, and Mr. *Nichols* of the Bedchamber, to condole with the *French* King upon the Death of his Queen, which hath put our Court into

Mourn.

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Mourning for Three Months. The First of October 1683, I received this following Letter from Mr. Secretary Jenkins.

S I R,

I presented yours of the 5th current to his Majesty, who read every Word of it himself; and then I presented him with your private Letter to me, touching Mr. Cittar's Information against you concerning your Religion. The King commanded me to tell you from him, that such Complaints as those should do you no Prejudice in his Majesty's Thoughts: That he very well approves of the Service you do him, and that he will always have a gracious Protection for you. I am, Sir,

Your most Humble Faithful Servant,
L. JENKINS.

The 26th of November following, I received this Letter from Mr. Secretary Jenkins, all written with his own Hand.

S I R,

Your last private Letter, as well as your publick one, were read before his Majesty yesterday in Council. Your Answers to the Governour were well approved of, especially that Article wherein you observed to him, That it is out of the Sphere of any foreign Ministers, to take upon them to alledge, or make use of any Argument grounded upon the Sentiment or Desires of the Subjects and Vassals of the Prince
that

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that a foreign Minister so alledging resides with: For Example, would the King of Spain have taken it well, that Sir Henry Goodrick should have urged, why he offered his Majesty's Arbitrage, the Sentiments or Desires of the Spanish Nation, either in their Provinces, or else in other Territories of the Catholick King? Can Don Pedro de Ronquillos make it out, that the City of London does desire, that his Majesty should embark in a War? Does he know the Sentiments of the Council of Scotland and Ireland? Hath he put all the Sentiments of those great Bodies into a Balance? Does he know which amongst them will preponderate? There was a Time (and 'tis within your Memory and mine) when not only foreign Ministers with Character, but their very Clerks and Valets de Chambre did meddle with our Affairs of State, and might (as they thought) with our publick Councils. This was an Indignity upon the King, I hope it will be so no more. Sure I am of one thing, they did not do our Business, which they pretended highly to do; if they have done their own, much good may it do them. You have already all the Account I can give you of the Duke of Monmouth, saving that yesterday Evening, after Council, he came to my Office, and I discharged the Sergeant at Arms that had him in Custody: Then I waited upon him, as I had been ordered, to the Duke: The Duke carried him immediately to the King. After his Examination, the King carried him to the Queen. Then the Duke brought him back again to his
own

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own Side, to the Dutchesse, and he was all this Morning at Court. I am, Sir,

Your most Humble and Faithful Servant,
L. JENKINS.

It seems, the Lord Privy Seal, the Duke of Ormond, and several other Lords of the Privy Council, knowing for certain, that the Duke of *Monmouth* was at Court, and had been well received and pardoned by the King, went to visit the Duke of *Monmouth* at the *Cock-pit*; and some People had the Confidence to contradict what was published concerning the Duke of *Monmouth*, tho' nothing was printed concerning him, but by Order from the King and Council, and entered *verbatim* in the Council Book, that it might be kept in particular. However, what was printed concerning the Duke of *Monmouth*, was the Subject of much Discourse, and the Whiggs and factious People had the Impudence to say it was false, and that the Duke of *Monmouth* did not make any Confession of the Conspiracy; and the Thing went so far, that Reports were spread abroad, of Discourses the Duke of *Monmouth* had himself held to that Purpose, and that the printed Relation was injurious to him; so that there was a Necessity that some publick Notice should be taken of it, and that the Duke of *Monmouth* should vindicate the King's Honour as well as his own, by owning publickly the Confession he had made to the King, in Presence of his Royal Highness, with which his Majesty was so well

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pleased, as not only to grant him his Pardon, which was to pass forthwith under the Great Seal, but likewise gave him a considerable Sum of Money for the Frankness of his Confession. But upon the Duke of *Monmouth*'s denying what was published concerning him, and having declared the same in divers publick Places, and the Persons being sent for and examined, they declared, That they heard the Duke of *Monmouth* himself deny that he had made any such Confession of the Conspiracy, and the Faction thereupon beginning to shew themselves with great Confidence, it was thought absolutely necessary, that publick Notice should be taken of it. Whereupon the King required the Duke of *Monmouth* to make a publick Declaration either before the Council, or else to confess publickly what he had declared and owned to his Majesty, when he was first brought to the King by his Royal Highness. But the Duke of *Monmouth* then having his Pardon under the Great Seal, and the Money which the King gave him, did absolutely refuse to conform to what his Majesty so justly required of him, and which the Duke of *Monmouth* should not have made the least Scruple of doing. The King was so highly offended at the Duke's refusing to perform so necessary a Part of his Duty, that he forthwith ordered Mr. Vice-Chamberlain *Saville*, to signify to him his Majesty's Pleasure, That he should not any more come into the King's Presence, and that he should presently leave the Court; which the Duke

of

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of *Monmouth* did, and took a little House in *Holbourn*, to the Astonishment of all Men that had any Duty for the King or Government. Upon this the Whiggs and factious People made it the great Subject of all their Discourses: Whereupon the King was pleased to declare publicly, That the Duke of *Monmouth* did confels to him, in Presence of the Duke, all the Plot, and did repeat to him all the considerable Particulars sworn by the Witnesses, and did assure the King, that what the Lord *Howard* of *Escrick* had sworn against *Algernoon Sidney*, was true; and that he was one of the most dangerous Men to the Government in his Majesty's Dominions: And yet, at the same time, several Persons of Credit deposed, That they had heard the Duke of *Monmouth* disown what was published about him, and refused to make a publick Declaration of what he had confessed and owned to the King.

Soon after this, the King was pleased to acquaint the Lords of his Council, That having received the Duke of *Monmouth* into his Mercy, and having since heard several Reports from the Duke's own Servants and others, that the Duke had made no Confession to his Majesty of the Conspiracy, nor owned any Share he had in it: The King did therefore think fit, for the Vindication of the Truth of what the Duke of *Monmouth* had declared to him and the Duke of *York*, to require the same from him in writing a Letter under his own Hand, which the said Duke of *Monmouth* refused to do in the Terms

it was commanded him: His Majesty was so much offended therewith, that he had forbid him his Presence, and commanded him to depart the Court: And for the farther Information of the Council, his Majesty had directed the Letter that the Duke had been required to sign, to be entered in the Council Book, declaring he did not intend it should be a Secret. The Letter was as follows.

I Have heard some Reports of me, as if I should have lessened the late Plot, and have gone about to discredit the Evidence against those that have died by Justice. Your Majesty and the Duke know how ingenuously I have owned the late Conspiracy; and tho' I was not conscious of any Design against your Majesty's Life, yet I lament the having a great Hand in the other Part of the Conspiracy, which was the Confederacy. Sir, I have taken the Liberty to put this in Writing, for my own Vindication, and I beseech you to look forward, and endeavour to forget the Fault you have forgiven me, and I will take Care, never to commit any more against you, nor to come within the Danger of being again misled from my Duty, but shall make it the Business of my whole Life to deserve the Pardon your Majesty hath given to

Your most Dutiful Son, &c.

The King having made this Declaration concerning the Duke of Monmouth to the Council, caused it to be entered in the Council Book,

that

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that Copies might be taken of it, which gave a general and great Satisfaction; whereas many before began to be staggered with the Reports that were with so much Confidence, or rather Impudence, spread abroad; and the great Wonder was, why the Duke of *Monmouth* should refuse to give the King and the World the Satisfaction of signing the above-written Paper. The Duke of *Monmouth* declared upon going from his House in *Holbourn*, that he would retire privately to his House in *Moore Park*, but none know (at least publickly) where he now is; and I have been told from a good Hand at *Whitehall*, that he had written a submissive Letter to the King, but not being in the Terms his Majesty expected, he would take no Notice of it.

Mr. *Algernon Sidney* will be executed the next Week, the Warrant being signed for his Execution, and the Lord Chief Justice hath committed two Persons to *Newgate*, for using some scandalous Expressions concerning Mr. *Sidney's* Tryal and Jury, it being fit that some should be made Examples, to teach others to govern their Tongues. On the 7th of *December*, Mr. *Sidney* was beheaded. He came on Foot from the *Tower* to the Scaffold upon *Tower Hill*: He there saluted the People, and gave the Sheriffs a Paper, which he desired might be communicated to the World; and kneeling down, he prayed to himself for some Minutes, and then rising undressed himself. The Sheriffs asked him, if he had nothing to say? who

answered, he had nothing to say or to do, but to die: And being undressed, and putting on his Cap, he laid himself down, and bid the Executioner do his Duty, who struck off his Head at one Blow. The Sheriffs carried the Paper to the King, which was an Investive against the Government, his Judges, Jury, and Witnesses, and concludes with this Expression, *That he doubts not but God Almighty will continue to own the Cause for which he died.* He shewed a great Courage and Unconcernedness for Death; but it is to be wished he had shewed a more Christian Temper. He had no Minister with him, having a Religion of his own, and his Paper may be justly called, a very venomous Libel. He seems to justify the last Rebellion, and prayed God still to support the Old Cause, for which he appeared so eminently heretofore. It is certain, that he carried his detestable Principles against Monarchy and the established Government with him to his Grave, and gloried in his treasonable Actions and Practices, rather than repented of them. The Paper he gave the Sheriffs will not be printed; it begins thus: *Men, Brethren, and Fathers, Friends, Countrymen, and Strangers;* and having justified his own Book, and exclaimed against the Proceedings at his Tryal, it ends thus: *By these means am I brought hither; the Lord forgive their Practices, and avert the Evils which threaten the Nation from them! Lord sanctify these my Sufferings unto me! and tho' I fall a Sacrifice to Idols, suffer not Idolatry to be established in*

the

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the Land. Bless thy People, and save them: Defend thy own Cause; defend them that defend it: Stir up such as are faint, direct such as are willing, confirm such as waver, give Wisdom and Integrity to All: Order all things so as they may redound to thy Glory; and grant I may die glorifying thee for all thy Mercies, and for that thou hast at last permitted me to be singled out as a Witness of thy Truth, and even by the Confession of my Opposers, for **The Old Cause**, for which thou hast so often and so wonderfully declared thy self.

The Lord Mayor of York is summoned to answer before the Council several High Misdemeanours charged against him; and having appeared before the Council, he was obliged to give Bail to answer the Information that shall be exhibited against him by Mr. Attorney General. In December 1683, I received this ensuing Letter from Mr. Secretary Jenkins, written with his own Hand.

S I R,
I Cannot think but you will easily call to Mind, how the King hath proceeded with the Duke of Monmouth, having already seen all the Relations that were written and printed concerning him. I have only one thing to observe to you in the whole Transaction of that Business, which is this, that the King's Resolution in that Affair hath been owing to no Man's Counsel, but to his Majesty's own Firmness; and tho' his Tenderness was great for the Duke of Monmouth, yet he

suffered it not to prevail against that which he owed to his lawful Successor, and to his dutiful Subjects. I am, Sir,

Your most Humble and Faithful Servant,
L. JENKINS.

I received this following Letter from a very good Hand at *Whitehall*, bearing Date the 29th of *December*.

SIR,

THE Depredations of the French in Flanders does generally affect us here, being no great Lovers of the French, and do not speak very favourably of their Proceedings. The poor People of Flanders are much pitied, who suffer for the Imprudence of those at the Helm. We wish the Spaniards may be perswaded to put an End to the Miseries of their Subjects, by establishing a good and lasting Peace. Our Merchants (who have great Effects in Spain) are much alarmed, but we hope there is no Need. I can tell you no News, but that the Lord Lansborough, formerly Sir George Lane, and the Earl of Plymouth, Governour of Hull, are lately dead, and that there is no Appearance of a Parliament, as some have imagined; for if his Majesty intended one, the Time is near to give Orders for it.

Upon the Prince of Denmark's first Arrival in England, a Chapter was appointed for the chusing him a Knight of the Garter; but the Prince

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Prince prayed it might be deferred, till he acquainted the King of Denmark, his Brother, therewith, and had his Leave to lay aside the Order of the Elephant, which was judged very reasonable: And the Prince having accordingly made his Compliments to the King of Denmark upon this Occasion, and received Leave from him, a Chapter is appointed to be held forthwith, for the electing him into the most noble Order of the Garter. The Lord Dartmouth hath found more Difficulty in demolishing the Mole at Tangier, than was imagined; but it is now so near done, that his Lordship is expected very suddenly in England.

In November 1683, I received this following Letter from Mr. Secretary Jenkins.

S I R,

Herewith you will receive (I think, by Mr. Puckle's Hand) the King our Master's gracious Letter to the Marquis de Grana, with a Copy of it for your self. It is his Majesty's Pleasure, that you deliver it to the Marquis, and accompany it with a Memorial of your own, complaining of the ill Usage his Majesty's Subjects do receive at Ostend; and to hint to his Excellency the ill Consequences of such Insults, if suffered to go unpunished, which would naturally end in Revenge, and Disturbance of the Commerce and present good Friendship between both Crowns. The Letter is in Behalf of our East India Company, concerning a Ship (intending, or supposed to intend to be an Interloper within the Limits

Limits of their Charter.) Here is also annexed, a Copy of that Company's Petition to his Majesty, with the State of the Case, gathered out of the Extract of several Letters from an Officer of the English Admiralty now in Flanders, and, I doubt, in Custody at Ostend. These Papers, with the Information Mr. Puckle will give you, may absolve me from adding any thing more, but that you are desired to do what you can in Vindication of his Majesty's Honour, and in Support of our East India Company's just Rights; and that you endeavour to get good and sufficient Caution, according to the last Clause in his Majesty's said Letter, that the said Ship shall not undertake, nor pursue her Voyage to the Indies. I am, Sir, &c.

L. JENKINS.

The Copy of the King's Letter to the Marquis de Grana, concerning the East India Company here follows, which the said Resident presented.

Mon Cousin,

LA Compagnie des Marchands Anglois, traffiquant aux Indes Orientales, m'ont tres humblement representé, que le nommé Richard Sherwood Commandant de navire Richard & Jean, a équipé son dit navire pour un Voyage aux dites Indes, avec dessein d'y traffiquer avec les Infidels contre les loix de ce Pais cy, & contre plusieurs des mes Edits, publiez en faveur de la dit Compagnie & d'autres: Sur quoy

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ma Cour de l'Amirauté avoit ordonné qu'on mist en Arrest le dit navire, ce qui auroit esté déüement executé. Si ce n'eut esté que le dit Maistre en ayant eu advis, s'est derobé de mon Port de Douvre, & s'est retiré en celui d'Ostende jusques ou un Officier de madit Cour de l'Amirauté l'ayant poursuivy, y a fait arrester le dit navire, par la justice ordinaire du lieu. Sur quoy le dit Maistre y a fait arrester & mettre en prison le dit Officier de ma Cour de l'Amirauté nommé George Wade, pour s'estre acquitté de son devoir, & de sa commission, le dit Maistre ayant aussi pour mieux couvrir sa fraude, changé son nom, & celui du dit navire, se faisant appeller luy mesme Wood, & son navire le Speedwell. Les particularitez de son procede, & de ses excès, vous seront representez par mon Resident apres vous, lequel Je vous prie d'écouter favorablement, & de faire en sorte que le dit Maistre donne caution de s'en retourner dans quelq'un de mes Ports, afin de se soumettre à ce que la justice ordonnera de faire en cette occasion, ou bien pour le moins que le dit Maistre & ses affreteurs, avant le depart du dit Maistre avec son navire de vos Ports, soient obligez de donner caution suffisante en ce Pais la à mon Resident, ou à d'autres qui en auront Procuration de mon dit Resident, de n'entreprenre ny poursuivre le dit Voyage destiné pour les dites Indes. Je signeray cette cy en vous asseurant que Je suis, Mon Cousin,

Au Whitehall, le Vötre Affectionné Cousin,

16 de Nov. 1683. CHARLES R.

At

At the same time I presented a Memorial to the Marquis de Grana, in these Words.

LE soussigné Chevalier Bulstrode, Resident pour sa Majesté de la Grande Brittainne, représenté tres humblement à Votre Excellence par Ordre du Roy son Maistre, que le nommé Richard Sherwood, Sujet de sa Majesté, commandant le navire Richard & Jean, a équipé son dit navire pour un Voyage aux Indes Orientales, avec dessein d'y traffiquer avec les Infideles, contre les loix d'Angleterre, & contre plusieurs Placarts de sa Majesté : Sur quoy, la supreme Cour d'Amirauté d'Angleterre avoit envoyé un Officier pour mettre en Arreste le dit navire. Mais le dit Maistre, ayant eu avis, s'est derohé du Port de Douvre, & s'est retiré en celui d'Ostende, jusques ou le dit Officier ayant poursuiy y a fait arrester le dit navire. Sur quoy, le dit Maistre y a fait arrester & mettre en prison pour s'estre acquitté de son devoir & de sa commission. Le dit Maistre ayant aussi, pour mieux couvrir sa fraude, changé son nom & celui du dit navire : A cette raison le dit Resident supplie tres humblement Votre Excellence, d'ordonner que le dit Officier sera relaché, & que le dit Maistre ne soit permis de partir hors le Port d'Ostende, avec son dit navire, sans donner bonne Caution au dit Resident de s'en retourner en Angleterre, afin de se soumettre a ce que la justice luy ordonnera, ou bien pour le moins que le dit Maistre donner Caution suffisante

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sante au dit Resident de n'entreprenre ny poursuivre son Voyage destiné pour les dites Indes, selon le Desir du Roy son Maistre par sa Lettre à V^{otre} Excellence.

Fait à Bruxelles, le 7 de Decem. 1682. R. BULSTRODE.

Some small Time before this Memorial was delivered, I received this following Letter from Mr. Secretary Jenkins.

S^I R,
THE Letter you sent me by Mr. Puckle, and those since by the Ordinary, have been carefully read before his Majesty in Council. I now send you a Copy of the last Memorial the Spanish Ambassador gave his Majesty. I could not send it sooner, because it had not been communicated to the Lords. I was directed by the King to give Answer to it by Word of Mouth, to Don Pedro, but strictly commanded not to give it in Writing, or to dictate it, that he might take a Copy, which I did punctually observe; which gave him great Distaste. I send you the Words as near as I can, but with this strict Injunction from the King, that you do not communicate them to any Person; for then that which we refused them will come to them another Way. The Answer is communicated to you, for your own Government, when the Ministers there shall discourse to you at the rate of Don Pedro's Memorial, without letting them know that you know
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the Words wherein I answered him. That which you propose concerning an Allowance for Expresses, is hardly practicable, the constant ancient Way being to put it upon your Extraordinaries: But in regard they are in so great Arrears to you, I will take upon me to pay any Express you shall send, knowing you will only send them when it is needful. I am ever

Your most Faithful Humble Servant,
L. JENKINS.

In the Beginning of the Year following, the Court of King's Bench gave Judgment in the great Case of the East India Company, and were unanimously of Opinion, that Judgment ought to be given for the Plaintiffs, which are the East India Company. Their Arguments were all resolved into these two Questions: First, Whether the Grant of a sole Trade to the Company, without Prohibition to all the rest of the King's Subjects not to trade to those Parts, be a good Grant? Secondly, Suppose the Grant be good, whether this Action be maintainable? And the whole Court held in the Affirmative to both: And, that in the First Point, as well the prohibitory as the enabling Part, were consistent both with the Laws of the Land, and the Law of Nations: Which the Lord Chief Justice made out with much painful Learning, by citing many Authorities and Precedents out of the Parliament Rolls and foreign Books, whereby he proved that *Jus Gentium* must be the Judge of foreign Trade, by

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by which it was at first established, as it is regulated in all other Nations. As to the Objection, that this excluding Grant was a Monopoly, he distinguished upon the Word, proving out of several Books of the Civil Law, that Monopolies are of two Sorts, either Lawful, as when the Prince grants to any College a sole Trade exclusive of all other Persons: Or Unlawful, according to the vulgar Acceptation of the Word; and that this Grant is of the former Sort, and not such a Monopoly as the Law condemns. The Court held, That the Statute of *Edw. III.* pleaded by the Defendant, had Relation only to the Trade of the Staple, and could not be intended to controul this, which was not then in Being. Yet, supposing the Statute were powerful, and gave Licence to all Persons to trade every where; yet the King having, by the common Law, a Power of restraining his Subjects from trading, and there being no expresse Words in the Statute, to take away this Power, the Statute, as to that, is void, according to the Rule set down by my Lord *Cook*, that, without expresse Words, no Prerogative shall be taken away. The Court said further, That tho' the King had covenanted with the Company, to grant no Licences to any other Persons of a concurrent Trade; yet the King hath not hereby concluded himself, but that he may, at his Pleasure, license any of his Subjects to trade to the Places mentioned in the Charter.

This

This being a Matter of Curiosity, I give you this particular Account for your Satisfaction.

The 28th of December I had this following Letter from Mr. Secretary Jenkins.

S I R,
I Have received your double Letter, one of the Occurrences of the Field, and the other of a Discourse you had with the Governour. They were both read to his Majesty, first in private, then at a Committee of the Council. I have nothing in Command to answer upon them. I may only tell you, that your Discourses and Replies, in your Conversation with the Governour, were very well approved of. You will, I suppose have heard, on this, some Complaints of Mr. Chudleigh: You may believe it morally impossible he should have had such Discourses to the Deputies of Amsterdam, as are endeavoured to be fastened upon him. It is the Spanish Ambassador, Don Pedro, that alone complains of him, and we do not hear one Syllable of this from Mr. Cittars, nor from Monsieur le Compte de Thaun, who would have been as loud as the Spanish Ambassador, in their Complaints, had they known of any unwarrantable Discourse of Mr. Chudleigh's in the Conferences he may have had with any Deputies or private Persons whatsoever. You know, that the King our Master hath of a long time (I am sure for above a Year) declared, *Qu'il ne se laisseroit pas entretenir par quelle fuit dans une Guerre estrangere*: Thus much Mr. Chudleigh might say upon
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any pertinent Occasion, but more, I dare say, never fell from him. I shall not fail to comply with Mr. Puckle's Demand, nor in any thing else, wherein I may, to approve my self

Your most Humble and Faithful Servant,

L. JENKINS.

I had another Letter from a good Hand at *Whitehall*, of the 16th of *January*, 1683-4, which says, that *Mr. Cornish*, who was an Alderman of *London* before their Privileges were seized into the King's Hands, was examined before the Lords of the Cabinet Council, he being named in the Letter taken in *Ellis's* Pocket, amongst those to whom the Libel was to be distributed, and *Slingsby Bethell*, his worthy Collegue, when Sheriffs, was, amongst others, fined One Thousand Merks for the Riot by them committed in *Guild-Hall*, on Midsummer Day, 1682, and has ever since been a Prisoner, but has at last thought fit to pay his Fine, and is now at Liberty again. We have an Account from *Scotland*, that *Baillie*, a Gentleman of a good Estate, being sent thither to be tryed, was found Guilty of High Treason, and executed: That the Earl of *Ferras* had been brought to his Tryal, for being in the late Conspiracy, and was found Guilty likewise; but having confessed as well before, as at his Tryal, the whole Matter charged upon him, and cast himself upon the King's Mercy,

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his Execution was stopped, till the King's Pleasure was known therein.

The 25th of February 1684, I received this ensuing Letter from Mr. Secretary Jenkins.

S I R,

HIS Majesty hath received from Mr. Van Citters, a Memorial of so great a Length, that I cannot hope to send it you, till the next Post. It is accompanied with five several Maps of several Parts of the Spanish Netherlands. It prays his Majesty's Offices, in order to dispose the most Christian King to give up Brisac, Friburg, and the Fort of Keil (near Strasburgh) to the Empire, if he will keep Strasburgh to himself. Then, for the Spanish Netherlands, the Allies do offer (tho' without the Consent of Spain) to divide the Country by an imaginary Line, to the End the French may possess all on the one Side of it, and the Spaniards all on the other; and it is to be noted, that not only most of the Dependencies in Flanders, that are controverted, are in the Spanish Side of the Line, but also all that the French do possess in Luxemburgh, even to the Walls of Chiny and Verton, which the Spaniards have long since relinquished. His Majesty is not come to any Resolution upon this Memorial, having not yet received the Letters of his own Minister at the Hague: But thus far we see, that this is the Effect of the Conferences now held at the Hague, and this is intended to be the Answer to Mr. d'Araux's Offers of a Truce. When those things ripen,
you

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*you shall have a farther Account of them from,
Sir,*

*Your most Humble and Faithful Servant,
L. JENKINS.*

The 18th of March following, I received
this ensuing from the same Hand.

S I R,

I Thank you heartily for yours, which came but
this Day; but I would not have you be discour-
aged by this Accident of writing by the Way of
Calais, for we had not our Letters from Paris
then: Nay, give me Leave to invite you to
make use of this Conveyance, in an active, trou-
blesome Time, as this Spring and Summer are
like to be; and therefore you may send the Ori-
ginal one Way, and the Duplicate another.
Sure I am, that you will omit no Conveniency,
and so leave it to your self, and am ever, &c.

L. JENKINS.

On Saturday last Mr. Van Cittars gave a Me-
morial to his Majesty, seconding his last Memo-
rial. My Lord Sunderland, by his Majesty's
Command, gave him an Answer only by Word of
Mouth, and to the same Effect with that Answer
which his Lordship had given before in Writing
to Mr. Van Cittars's Memorial formerly delive-
red upon the same Subject.

Upon the 31st of March, I received this en-
suing Letter from Mr. Secretary Jenkins, dated
at Whitehall.

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SIR,

S I R,

IN your last, which was read yesterday before the King and Council, you are pleased to desire to know the King's Pleasure, whether you should go into the Campaign with that Governour. His Majesty resolved, that it was not necessary, because the Scene of the War in that Country being like to be of a very narrow Compass, and not far from the Place where you have always resided, which being the Capital of that Country, will still have the best Share in the Intelligence. One thing that concerns my self I shall take Leave to impart to you with a very sincere Joy: It is, That his Majesty hath, upon my most humble, and even importunate Suit, given me Leave, in regard of my ill Health, to resign my Post of Secretary, and hath bestowed it upon Mr. Godolphin, in whose Correspondence, as far as it will take in your Deportment, you will, I am sure, be very happy. My great Concern is, that this being a pure Effect of my most humble Supplication, and even intolerable Importunity with his Majesty and the Duke, it may not be imputed to any Surprise upon me at Court, much less to my disliking of the present Measures there. This I say, because I know the Fanaticks will put the most malicious Constructions they can invent upon an Incident at Court: But, upon my honest Word, Sir, it is my utter Disability to serve, and that alone, which hath prevailed upon his Majesty's infinite Clemency and Goodness, to consent to my Dismission, with such
Marks

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Marks of his Grace and Royal Bounty, as to me are unexpressible. This I thought it my Duty to impart to you, to prevent Misinformation, and to let you know, at the same time, that I shall be glad, in what private Capacity soever I am, to approve my self in Truth and Effect, Sir,

Your most Humble and most Faithful Servant,

L. JENKINS.

I had the 4th of April following, this Letter from the same Hand, at Whitehall.

S I R,

I Have just Time to tell you, that I had the Honour, on Tuesday Night, to produce your last Letter before his Majesty and the Committee. You may be well assured, that I did not neglect humbly to inform my self of his Majesty's Pleasure in Mr. Hulft's Business. His Majesty was pleased to tell me, That he had a good Character of Mr. Hulft a good while since; and that whenever he comes into England, whether with a publick Character, or in a private Capacity, his Majesty will very graciously bid him welcome. I am, Sir, &c.

L. JENKINS.

After this, in April, I received this ensuing Letter from the same Hand, dated at Windsor, the 14th of April 1684.

B b 3

S I R,

S I R,

THis is the last Trouble I shall give you, as his Majesty's Secretary, but shall desire the Continuance of your Kindness as a Friend, for so I shall always be to you. The State of Mr. Boyan's Case herewith sent you, and the Copy of his Majesty's Letter to the Marquis de Grana thereupon, may dispense with me for giving you any farther Instructions in this Matter. You will deliver his Majesty's Letter to the Marquis, and accompany it with such Memorials and Applications as you shall judge requisite, and may be most effectual, that Mr. Boyan may obtain his Right. I know your Diligence and Zeal, and therefore shall use no more Words, but again to assure you, that I am, Sir,

Your most Humble and Faithful Servant,
L. JENKINS,

The Copy of the King's Letter to the Marquis.

Mon Cousin,

LE Sieur Richard Boyan, Marchand de Londres, m'ayant représenté qu'il a un Procez a anvers contre un nommé Guillian Vandevorst, Marchand de cette Ville la, pour quelques Affaires mercantilles, mais que par les cbicans dont le dit Vandevorst, & quelques siens Parens ont usé comme ayans Interest sur les lieux, & mon dit sujet etant estrangere, j'ay bien voulu ordonner à mon Resident a Bruxelles

de

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de vous presenter des Memoires convenables touchant la dit Affaire, ne doutant pas que Vous ne donnez tels Ordres la dessus, que bonne & brieüe justice soit fait à mon dit sujet. Je suis, Mon Cousin,

Votre Affectionné Cousin,
CHARLES R.

After Sir Leoline Jenkins had quitted his Station of being Principal Secretary of State, I had the following Letter from him, dated at *HammerSmith*, the 12th of *May* 1684, which was the last Letter I had from him.

S I R,

I Have often pitied you very heartily, under the intolerable Pains you take, in writing so many Letters with your own Hand. I must now, in Conscience, not only pray you, but in a manner require you, to ease your self of writing any longer to me, and I shall reckon my Obligation no less than if you did this. His Majesty allows me the Honour of Access, as before, to the Committee of Foreign Affairs; so that as often as I go thither, I shall be sure to meet with your Intelligence; and when my Health does not give me Leave to do so, my Friends are pleased to communicate unto me so much as serves my Turn. But if at anytime your own Occasions invite you to write to me, I pray do it very freely; for in those Matters you may command me still, as, Sir,

Your most Humble and Faithful Servant,
L. JENKINS.

B b 4

The

The 20th of May 1684, I had this following Letter from a very good Hand.

S I R,

I Am sure that the Spanish Ambassador hath been spoken to, concerning the Treatment which they gave the Duke of Monmouth at Brussels, and has been given to understand the great Resentment the King hath of their Proceedings. Hereupon the Spanish Ambassador has taken an Occasion to speak to the King, assuring him, that the Civilities which were shewed him at Brussels, were purely in respect to his Majesty, as being his Son; of which I am told the King took hold, and hath caused a Letter to be written to the Ambassador, to let that Court know the little Satisfaction his Majesty hath in their treating the Duke of Monmouth as they have done; and yet the Spanish Ambassador continues his Instances, tho' he knows they cannot succeed to his Satisfaction. For he that asketh a Thing that cannot be granted, without the great Prejudice of him that is to grant it, cannot certainly think to obtain what he desires, and has not so much Cause to be dissatisfied, when refused, as he hath, of whom he desires a Thing to his Prejudice. I suppose it will be no News to tell you, that the French King hath given Assurances, that after the Taking of Luxenburgh, he will not attempt any thing farther in Flanders. The Count d'Araux hath declared thus much at the Hague, upon which

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which it is not doubted but the States will resolve to sit still, and let the Spaniards manage the War, as they will, if they will not comply with the French Proposals. We have no News from my Lord Dartmouth at Tangier, expecting that he is coming home, and will be speedily in England. The Duke of Monmouth is highly caressed at the Hague, which would make me wonder what the Prince of Orange aims at by such a Proceeding. The King was pleased to declare in the last Council at Hampton-Court, that he thought fit that his Royal Highness should be present at the Meeting of the Council, and accordingly the Duke took his Place at the Board, as First Prince of the Blood.

I am told from a good Hand, that the King hath forbid all Correspondence with the Prince of Orange, and hath declared to the Nobility, and others attending him, that they should hold no Commerce with the Prince, who hath given the old *Hoffe*, where the Princess his Grandmother lived, at the *Hague*, to the Duke of *Monmouth*. We expect daily a publick Account of the Discovery lately made in *Scotland*, it being as plain as the Day, that the Conspiracy was so laid between the Rebels here and in *Scotland*, as to make an Infurrection in both Kingdoms at the same time; upon which many Gentlemen, whom they call *Lairds*, are committed to Prison; it appearing that the Design of the Conspiracy was to have surprized *Berwick*, and thereby have opened their Way to *New-castle*.

castle. By the Deposition of one *Carstairs*, who was taken in *England*, and sent to *Scotland*, and by several others, the Correspondence is made so plain between the Conspirators here and in *Scotland*, that there is no farther Doubt made of it, it being sufficiently made appear. But at the same time it is worthy Remark, that all their Credit in *Scotland* could not raise Thirty Thousand Pounds to carry on their Plot. I am told from a good Hand, that *Danvers* who is now in the *Gazette*, was the Author of that damnable Libel about the Earl of *Essex*, being a Parcel of Lies and Forgeries maliciously put together, to perswade the Whiggs and the Ignorant, that the then Earl of *Essex* was murdered by Order from the Government, when it was apparent that he cut his own Throat. Circular Letters have been written by the King's Commands, to all the Lords Lieutenants of the Counties of this Kingdom, to this Effect: That the King being informed Reports were spread abroad in the Country, that his Majesty intended to call a Parliament, and that many Gentlemen have thereupon begun to make Interests to be chosen, his Majesty had thought fit to let them know, that he has not at present any Intention to call a Parliament; and when he shall find it necessary for his Service and the publick Good, to call one, he will cause timely Notice to be given thereof; and in the mean time, commands them to take Care to suppress all such false Reports, and to punish the Authors of them. And his Majesty being informed, that Endeavours have
been

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been used to promote a tumultuary Petition for the Sitting of Parliament, his Majesty commands them to crush such seditious Practices, tending to the great Disturbance of the Government and the publick Peace, and to enquire for the Authors and Promoters of them.

There are in *London* about Sixty Companies, of which Fourty and more have already surrendered their Charters to his Majesty, who hath been pleased to grant them new ones, with such Alterations and Limitations as the King thinks necessary for his Service; and those Companies which do yet stand out, will be proceeded against in another Way.

I am told from a very good Hand at *Whitehall*, by Letter of the 13th of *June* 1684, That the Duke's Counsel let Mr. *Oates* in the *King's Bench* Prison know, that there was a Declaration filed against him on the Part of the Duke, for false and scandalous Words, and that if he pleaded not, Judgment should be entered against him by Default. He replied, according to his insolent Manner, That, as he had never loved the Duke, so he did not fear him, and that he would answer the Declaration when he thought fit; and that, for the entering Judgment by Default, he could not, for he would stay in Prison, till there was a Parliament, and then he should come out, and others would be in his Place. Upon this, the Duke's Counsel moved at the King's Bench Bar, That if *Oates* suffered Judgment to be entered by Default, in this Action of the Duke, the
Court

Court would then grant a Writ of Enquiry of Damages to be executed at the Bar. The Aim of the Duke's Counsel in desiring this, is, that the Matter they charge *Oates* with may be laid open to the World, by having the Witnesses examined in open Court.

The Yacht that brought over Sir *Thomas Armstrong* being arrived at *Greenwich*, he was brought on Shore by Captain *Richardson*, the Keeper of *Newgate*, who put Shackles upon him, and brought him to *Whitehall*, where he hath been examined by a Committee of Lords, but would confess nothing. It seems Mr. *Cbudleigh* having Notice, that Seven or Eight Englishmen were come to *Rotterdam*, he sent his Secretary, who discovered them at *Delft*, and followed them to *Leyden*; and having lodged them there, he applied himself to the Scout, in Pursuance of an Order Mr. *Cbudleigh* had obtained some time before of the States; and having the Scout's Assistance, he went to the House where they were, and seized *Armstrong* without any Opposition. The others with him were not meddled with, for that they were not mentioned in the Order of the States. *Armstrong* was carried to Mr. *Cbudleigh*'s House at the *Hague*, and from thence on board the Yacht at *Rotterdam*. Since his coming to *London*, he hath been brought to the King's Bench, where Execution was prayed against him: But he pleaded a Statute of *Edward VI.* which says, if a Person outlawed yield himself within a Year and Day, he shall be admitted to a Tryal:

But

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But he was answered, he did not yield himself, but was brought in by Force, and so could not claim the Benefit of that Statute. He replied, the King had allowed *Holloway* (who was likewise outlawed) the Liberty to reverse the Outlawry, and to stand a Tryal, and hoped he should not be denied it. He was answered by the Judges, that was the King's particular Grace and Mercy, of which they were not the Dispensers; and that there remained nothing for them to do, but to order his Execution, which they did accordingly. He did not seem inclined to make any Confession, nor to have the Sense that a Man ought to have that had Guilt upon him. After this, a Motion was made on his Behalf, in the Court of Chancery, for a Writ of Error to reverse the Outlawry: But my Lord Keeper answered, he could not grant it without Mr. Attorney's Consent, who said he had no Directions to consent to it. One would think Sir *Thomas* ought not to expect any Mercy or Favour from the King, to whom he hath been so ungrateful. But I must not forget to tell you, that when he was taken, he dropt some Papers into a House of Office, but they were found, and amongst them were Letters from the Duke of *Monmouth* to the *Sieur Dien*, the *Brandenburgh* Minister at the *Hague*, and another to one of the States, recommending Sir *Thomas Armstrong* to them in the most pressing Manner imaginable. He was executed at *Tyburn*, drawn thither from *Newgate* upon a Sledge. He saluted several People as he
went.

went. He had Dr. *Tennison* to pray with him, and died with much Courage and Resolution. His Head will be put up over the *Gate-house* at *Westminster*, and his Quarters will be disposed of in like manner. One of his Quarters will be sent to *Stafford*, for which Place he was a Burgess in Parliament. By his Paper which he gave the Sheriff, he justifies his Innocency, and complains that he had not a Tryal.

After Sir *Thomas's* Execution, the Paper he gave the Sheriffs was first brought to the King, and his Majesty gave it again to the Sheriffs, with Liberty to publish it. In it he disowns to know of any Plot against the King's Person and Government, and asserts his Innocency to those Matters. He justified himself of what was reported of him, of betraying the King in *Cromwell's* Time. He declared, he died a Member of the Church of *England*, but confessed he had not lived according to her Rules and Doctrines. He said, he died justly for the many Sins he had committed in his Life-time, and desired those he had injured to forgive him, as he forgave every Body.

About this time was *Oates's* Tryal with the Duke, where no less than Ten Witnesses swore, That *Oates* had said, his Royal Highness was a Traitor, a Rascal, a Devil, the Son of a Whore, with other Words not fit to be named, were it not to shew the audacious Insolence of *Oates*, who may possibly e'er long be called to an Account for many other things. Mr. *Wil-*
liams,

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liams, late Speaker of the House of Commons, had a Declaration filed against him, for having caused several Papers, called Votes and Addresses of the House of Commons, to be printed and published, wherein were many scandalous Reflections upon his Majesty and his Government; of which the said Mr. *Williams* having Notice, he did not appear in *Westminster-hall* the last Day of the Term, which he never missed before.

I was told from a good Hand at *Whitehall*, by Letters of the 30th of *June* 1684, That the Lord Treasurer of *Scotland*, with several other Lords of that Kingdom, were come to the *English* Court, to complain against the Chancellor of *Scotland*: That the King and Duke had heard their Complaints, which they found so well grounded, that the Great Seal was taken from the Chancellor, whose Name is Sir *George Gordon*, and the Earl of *Perth* was constituted Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*, and the Place he had of Justice General was given to the Earl of *Linlithgow*, Collonel of the Guards, and the said Regiment of Guards was given to Collonel *Douglas*, Brother to the Lord Treasurer, the Marquess of *Queensborough*, who has at present a *Scotch* Regiment in Service of the States General; and Matters being thus settled, the Lords are returning home again very well satisfied.

I am told by a good Hand from *Whitehall*, That Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* being returning for *Holland*, is charged with a Message from the
King

384 MEMOIRS of the

King to the Prince of *Orange*: That the King considering the ill Circumstances that Prince had put himself into, the King had writ lately to the Prince, to assure him of his Kindness, and that he would do all he could to support him. To which the Person that writes tells me, that the Prince of *Orange* returned a very cold and indifferent Answer; and which is much wondered at, that the Prince should shew such Kindness to the Duke of *Monmouth* and the Lord *Brandon*, which neither the King nor Duke can take well from the Prince. I am told from the same Hand, That the King had taken Notice to the Envoy of *Brandenburgh*, of the great Respect and Kindness which is shewed to the Duke of *Monmouth* at *Berlin*; and his Majesty was pleased to say, he did not think the Elector would have given that Countenance to one that was in his Disfavour. But the Minister, to excuse the Elector, said his Electoral Highness, in the Respect he had shewed to the Duke of *Monmouth*, did it as to his Majesty's Son, and not to him as Duke of *Monmouth*; who is so highly carested at the *Hague*, that it is thought the Prince will make him General of all the *English* Forces, and of all other his Majesty's Subjects that are in the States Service; with which his Majesty is so highly dissatisfied, that, perhaps, at Mr. *Cbudleigh's* Return to the *Hague*, his Majesty's Resentment may appear more publick.

I am told, there hath lately happened a very unlucky Accident at *Norwich*, betwixt
Mr.

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Mr. *Bedingfield* and Mr. *Barney*; the first a Man of a very good Estate, and the other an ancient Baronet; and some Words having passed between them at a Gentleman's House, *Barney* came behind *Bedingfield*, and stabbed him in the Back, of which he died presently. The Sessions being then there, he was tryed, convicted, and condemned, and was executed at the Market Cross, the Fact being so foul, that all Sollicitations for his Life were ineffectual. I am told from *Whitehall*, that the King had named Mr. *Brisbane*, late Secretary of the Admiralty, to go in Quality of his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary to the King of *Portugal*, in the Room of Mr. *Fanshaw*, who was recalled; but Mr. *Brisbane* falling sick at *Windsor*, is since dead.

By Letters of the 25th of *August*, 1684, I am told, that the King had thought fit to remove the Earl of *Radnor* from the Presidentship of the Council, his Majesty's Pleasure being therein signified to his Lordship by a Letter from the Secretary of State, with an Assurance of the King's entire Satisfaction in his Services, and that his Majesty, as a Mark of it, would continue to him his Pension which he had as Lord President. The Lord *Radnor*'s Answer was full of Duty and Submission to the King; who was so well pleased with it, that he ordered the Lords of the Treasury to take particular Care of the Payment of the said Pension: And his Majesty caused the Earl of *Rocheſter* to be sworn Lord President

C c

dent of the Council; and also acquainted the Lords, that his Intention was, that Mr. *Godolphin* should be made an *English* Baron, by the Name of Baron *Godolphin* of *Godolphin*, and succeed the Lord *Rocheſter* in the Place of First Commiſſioner of the Treasury: That the Earl of *Middleton*, late one of the Secretaries of State of *Scotland*, should succeed Mr. *Godolphin* in that of Secretary of State of *England*, who was sworn accordingly; and that the King had given the Earl of *Rocheſter* Sixteen Thousand Pounds, to be raised out of the Lord *Grey's* Estate: Which Changes were made by the King to the Satisfaction of all Parties concerned.

I was told from a good Hand at *Whitehall*, that the Duke of *Grafton* was gone incognito into *Holland*, and would from thence go to *Brussels*, to meet with his Brother the Duke of *Northumberland*, and then return together, after having ſeen the Governour of *Flanders*, and ſpoken with the Reſident at *Brussels*, which they both did, but could not perform what they intended. The ſame Perſon told me, that the Diſcovery made in *Scotland*, by the decyphering of *Argyle's* Letters, which were owned by his Secretary, are of great Importance; which make the late horrid Conſpiracy ſo evident, that none can doubt of it. It ſeems this Secretary was Priſoner in *Scotland*, and was charged with a Letter from *Argyle*, which was found about him when he was taken, and a Perſon at *Edinburgh* did decypher it. The Secretary at firſt denied it; but after having ſeveral

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veral times endured the Torture called the *Boat*, he had at last owned the Letter to be truly decyphered, and confessed several Particulars, which make the Conspiracy as plain as Noon-Day. Upon this Discovery, the Laird of *Monroe* and several others are apprehended in *Scotland*; and *Monroe* being threatened with the Torture, hath confessed all, and hath confirmed what was evidenced by others, designing to make an Insurrection in *Scotland* at the same time it was to be in *England*. *Monroe* is bringing up to *London*, having made a very large Confession. He hath attempted, with the Horror of his Guilt, to destroy himself, and therefore is looked after more closely. After this *Monroe's* Arrival, *Argyle's* Letters, and the Confession of his Secretary and others, will be made publick, to convince World of the hellish Designs of the Conspirators against the King and Government: Tho' one would think there should be none that needs be convinced, after the plain Proofs that have already been given of them. It appears, that the Design of the Conspirators was to have surprized *Berwick*, and thereby to have opened their Way to *Newcastle*, where the Plot hath been also discovered: For the Lord Chief Justice *Jeffries* being upon the Bench, Information was given him, that several considerable Persons of that Town had signed an Association for reforming the Abuses of the Government in Church and State: That the Original of this Association was burnt, upon Discovery of the Plot against

the King and Duke: But a Copy was produced to the Lord Chief Justice, and one that signed the Original, swore it to be a true Copy: Upon which Sixteen or Seventeen principal Persons of that Place were apprehended and committed to Prison for High Treason, before the Assizes were there ended; and since the Lord Chief Justice *Jeffries's* Return, he hath given an Account thereof to the King: As also, that many Corporations in his Circuit had submitted their Charters to such Alterations as his Majesty hath thought necessary for securing the Government in good and loyal Hands. The City of *York* as well as *London*, is now governed by Commission, their Charter being seized into the King's Hands, who out of his natural Goodness will grant them new Charters. A *Quo Warranto* being sent down against the Charter of the City of *Exeter*, they immediately resolved to lay their Charter at the King's Feet, and to make such a Resignation thereof as his Majesty shall think fit: By which may be seen the general Duty of his Majesty's Subjects to his Royal Authority. A great Change in few Months! which next to the good Providence of God, is to be attributed to his Majesty's great Prudence and Conduct.

The Lord Chief Justice *Jeffries* being returned from his Circuit, is gone to *Winchester*, to lay at his Majesty's Feet several Charters that were surrendered to him in his Circuit, where most Corporations have submitted to his Majesty's good Pleasure therein. Their Ma-
jesties

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jesties are returned from *Winchester*, and their Royal Highnesses, with the Prince and Princess of *Denmark* the Day before; the King and Duke, since the Discovery of the Conspiracy, never travelling the same Day together.

This Week Mr. *Rosewell*, a Nonconformist Preacher, was committed to *Newgate*, having uttered treasonable Words, as he was holding forth in a Conventicle. He will not be tryed at the *Old Baily*, but at the King's Bench Bar, the next Term. The Words he is charged with are very seditious and treasonable, and as well against the late King as the present Government, and are proved by so many Witnesses, that he is like to pass his Time very ill.

I must not forget to tell, that upon Mr. Secretary *Jenkins's* laying down, with the King's Leave, his being Principal Secretary of State, I was then put into the Province of the Earl of *Sunderland*, who wrote me this following Letter, dated the 25th of *August*, 1684, at *Windsor*.

S I R,

HIS Majesty was yesterday pleased to declare in Council, That he had given the Earl of *Radnor*, Lord President of the Council, Leave to retire, in Consideration of his great Age: That he was so well satisfied with his Services, that he intended to continue his Pension to him as Lord President; and that he was resolved to make the Earl of *Rocheſter* Lord President of the Council, and to put Mr. Secretary

Godolphin at the Head of the Treasury, as first Commissioner, and to make the Earl of Middleton, who was Secretary of State in Scotland, to be Secretary of State in England, who was sworn accordingly. His Majesty did also declare, That he did not make these Alterations out of any Dissatisfaction, he being perfectly well pleased with the good Services they had done him in their respective Stations: And his Majesty does direct me to tell you, that he does not hereby intend to make the least Change in the Method of his Affairs, or the Measures he hath taken, which have hitherto had all the Success that he could propose. I have yours constantly; the last are of the 25th and 19th Instant.

I am, Sir, Your Humble Servant,
SUNDERLAND.

About this time the Spanish Ambassador in England, Don Pedro de Ronquillos, took an Occasion to speak with the King my Master in the Duke of Monmouth's Behalf, by Order from the Marquis de Grana, then Governour of the Spanish Netherlands, which produced a Letter from the King to the Marquis, which was sent to me to deliver; wherein his Majesty let the Marquis know, how much he was dissatisfied with the Duke of Monmouth's Comportment, which I represented to his Excellency in the best Terms I could: But the Marquis de Grana told me, he knew from whence the King's Displeasure came, and that it was the Duke of York who was the great Enemy of the Duke of

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of *Monmouth*, whom the King loved as he did his Eyes, and endeavoured to perswade me to shew the Duke of *Monmouth* great Civilities. I told his Excellency, that I was absolutely to obey my Master, who had commanded me not to own him, and at the same time had spoken to *Don Pedro* to represent to the King of *Spain* his Master, in what ill Circumstances the Duke of *Monmouth* stood with the King his Father.

It was a strange Ingratitude in the Duke of *Monmouth*, who was in quiet Possession of all Places of Trust, Profit, or Honour, which could make him either happy or serviceable for the Government, or grateful to the People, to be engaged in a Conspiracy which was against Religion, Morality, and the common Sense of Humanity, and the highest Ingratitude to the King his Father, and even to Heaven it self. Certainly this counterfeit *Absalom* took a Glory to exceed in Wickedness, that no Man should be so infamous as himself; who with the Gracefulness of his Person, with his Popularity and other sinister and base Artifices, had strangely insinuated himself amongst the worst of Men, the common People; and before the Conspiracy broke out, he made some Voyages into the Country, and addressed himself to the Populace, like another *Absalom*, which went to his Royal Father's Heart. His rebellious Son *Absalom*! who was no sooner gone from his Father's Presence, but he endeavoured to steal away the Hearts of his People, and alienate the Affections of his Subjects from

their Obedience, His ambitious Son! whom no Preferments could content: His ungrateful Son! with his artificial Submission at his Father's Feet; but was no sooner gone from his Presence, but denied all he had confessed: And yet his royal and indulgent Father was willing to forget and forgive all his Faults, if he would but confess and acknowledge what he had done. But, *Benefacere, & malum audire, regium est.* It is too often the ill Fortune of Kings to be ill spoken of, when they do best for their Subjects Good. For after our blood-thirsty *English* Rebels had murdered their late King, and brought the Nation to great Confusion, which continued for some Years, when God was miraculously pleased to restore them to their ancient Government, by sending them their own King: Yet were the People so ungrateful, that in place of praising God for so great a Benefit, like the ancient *Jews*, they complained and murmured at that very Time when God was leading them into the Land of Promise, into Peace and Plenty; they wished themselves back in *Egypt*, whining after their Leeks and Onions, and desiring their former Slavery: Even so at this time, Conventicles, by their leering Whines, and their melting Complaints, insinuated the sad Times that were coming, even the Coffee-houses croaked with the Noise of it, and there came out every Day some compleat Artifice in Print, such as the *Papish Counsellour Julian*. Now, when People's Heads are once actuated with such Hurricanes of Jealousies and

Fears,

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Fears, and that their Religion, Properties and Liberties are pulling down, what can stop their Rage from attempting or believing any thing that is most unreasonable and contradictory to the Sense of their own Good? The People at this time were soon overperswaded to entertain Fears of the Loss of that Liberty, of which no Nation under Heaven was more secure; and yet Men were so befooled, to undertake that which would certainly bring them to Tyranny and Slavery. And from hence this King *Charles II.* felt the Rage of that rebellious Faction in the House of Commons, which endeavoured to make his Majesty cheap abroad; and contemptible at Home, by arraigning the Justice of his Government, and exciting a Hatred of the King's Person, and did infest the Nation with Swarms of pestilent Libels, which like Locusts overspread the Land, poisoned the Minds of the People, and drowned all the little Remains of Duty, Allegiance, Civility, and common Honesty, offering to remove from the King the very Guards of his royal Person, by precluding the Advantage he might take of his own Revenues, by their unwarrantable and unreasonable Votes, which exposed his Majesty to all Dangers that might happen, by endeavouring to deprive him of the Possibility of supporting the Government, by running down the King and all his loyal Subjects to the late woful, or worser Evils and Events, to which the rebellious Senate of 1641 had brought the Nation.

Now

Now when such a Number of discontented People are assembled, pretending their Religion is in Danger, this does influence them to the highest Resolution of acting, be the Attempts never so hazardous; and we may very well remember, that Religion, Liberty and Property, were lost and gone, when Monarchy by the Long Parliament was taken away, and could never be revived, till Monarchy was most happily restored; and if this Conspiracy had succeeded, we had been worse than ever. About this time we heard every Day new Stories of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government, with many scurrilous Reflections upon the King; and if any Man durst shew his Fidelity to the Monarchy, by opposing their Antimonarchical Principles, he was presently blasted with the Name of a Court or a Church Papist. How unwarrantable were the Proceedings and seditious Votes of the House of Commons, and their pragmatieal intermeddling with the Succession, a Thing too sacred to be touched by their unhallowed Hands! it being the Belief of all good, as well as learned Men, that no Power under Heaven can hinder the Descent of the Crown upon the next Heir of the Blood, which is his unalterable Right by Religion, Law, History and Reason: Yet the House of Commons resolved against it, and would not be undeceived by undeniable Arguments: Nay, they voted, they would make his Majesty a Glorious King, with a better Revenue than any of his Predecessors, by taking away all his

kingly

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Kingly Power, so that he should not be able to support his Friends, or suppress his Enemies. Nay, they voted, That whosoever should lend the King any Money upon the several Branches of his Revenue, should answer it in Parliament; whereby they not only took away all Hopes of necessary Supplies, but tied the Hands of the King's faithful Subjects, and would have reduced him to a more helpless Condition than the meanest of his Subjects: And they assumed a Power to themselves of suspending Acts of Parliament, by resolving, that the Prosecution of Dissenters upon the Penal Laws, was grievous to the Subject, and dangerous to the Peace of the Kingdom; and nothing would serve these ill-natured Gentlemen, but a total Exclusion of his Royal Highness's succeeding to the Crown, to which the King had often and positively told them, he could neither in Honour, Conscience, or Justice consent; and yet, instead of advancing his Majesty's Honour and Greatness, they persisted resolute in what they demanded. When the King saw they went so fast, he thought it high Time to prorogue them, which he did several times, in hopes of their agreeing at last; but they were still so unhappy as not to agree, which rendered the Friendship of *England* unsafe to trust to, and which made our warlike wary Neighbours take other Resolutions, whereby we gratified our Enemies, and discouraged our Friends by our unseasonable Disputes. And indeed the Calling of Parliaments does sometimes great Hurt, when more
Men

Men are called together, than can be united in Affections and Interests, and they rather break into Factions, than join in publick Interest; from whence have risen those dangerous Factions which ruined the Peace and Happiness of our Nation.

Sovereign Princes, as ours in *England*, have ever been God's Vicegerents upon Earth, deriving their Power and Authority from him alone who hath delegated Part of his own Power to Kings, and stamp't his own Character upon them; and therefore we are never to speak rudely to them, nor design any Evil against them: And the primitive Fathers often acknowledged the Heathen Emperors to be constituted by God, and to hold their Empire from him only, and to have God only above them: And therefore, in the early Ages of the Church, the Doctrine of Questioning the supreme Magistrate was unknown, and there was no such thing as Rebellion in the first Centuries of the Church; and whatsoever the Forms of Government were, which differ according to the Customs of their Country, yet the Power and Authority it self is derived from God, and never received of the People in Trust; nor is the sovereign Power answerable to the People for the Administration of it. But when Men presume to think, that the King is the People's Creature, deriving his Power and Trust from them, they will implead the King's Authority, as a conditional and precarious Thing, and upon the least Distrust, will meditate a Revocation

of

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of their Trust; so that whatsoever is done, the King must answer for it: So apt are resty Men to clamour against their own Happiness, and to promote the Steps of their own Ruine. *Solomon*, who was a great and a wise King, had some Hundreds of strange Wives, contrary to the Law of *Moses*, and by reason of them, he fell to Idolatry; yet neither Priest nor People took up Arms against him, but left it to God, who is the proper Judge of Kings, who, in the Time appointed by his divine Providence, raised up *Jeroboam* to chastise him in his Son.

I know, *Calvin* says, That the Magistrates, or any Part of the Realm, may resist the King, being an Idolater, as *Jebu* revolted from *Joram*, when he forsook God. Nay, he says farther, the Government of the Kingdom is not given to the King alone; and that there is a Stipulation in all hereditary Kingdoms: As in *France*, when the King is crowned, the Bishops of *Bauvais* and *Lyons* ask the People, if they desire and command this Man to be King. But surely *Calvin* forgot that he was born at *Noyon* in *Picardy*, and that this is no Argument that they chose him to be King, much less that they make him such: For this is an Acceptation only, and not an Election; a Declaration of their willing Subjection, and nothing else; the Kingdom was confessed before to be hereditary, and the Succession was determined by Law. The Kings of *England* and *France* count the Time of their Reign from their Entrance to the Crown. And was not *Henry VII.* several Years before he was crowned?

The

The Peers are *Pares inter se*, but not Companions to the King. In *England* all the Power and Authority depends upon the King, and the State is nothing but the Authority of the King, who is the Fountain whence springs all Authority and Nobility. He summons the great Council the Parliament, and dissolves them when he pleases: And he that would restrain Sovereignty within any narrower Bounds, or communicate it to others, makes no Difference between the Crown of a King, and the Bonnet of a Duke of *Venice*. I know, *Buchanan* says, Princes may be deposed by the People, if they be Enemies to God and his Truth; and that their Subjects are freed from their Oaths and their Obedience, and that the People are above the King, and of greater Authority than he. The Case of the idolatrous *Iraelites* was plain, the People acted nothing but by the Command of *Moses*, who was supreme Magistrate, neither did he command any thing to be done, but from the Mouth of God, according to the express Law, *Deuteronomy* 13.

This is not to put the Sword into the People's Hands, and to permit them to execute their fiery Zeal upon whom they please, under Pretence of rooting out Superstition, especially such as no Man judges so but themselves. Persecution in Matters of Religion is not the best Way to advance Religion, which is the Judgment of wise and learned Men, even of Protestants, and better than any can be shewed for the contrary. *Osiander* says, That God doth

not

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not allow, that Hereticks should be punished with Death, and forbids Magistrates to execute any such Authority: And *Calvin* was of the same Opinion, till he was settled in Power at *Geneva*. For before, he was much for Liberty of Conscience; and of the same Judgment was *Melancton* and many other learned Protestants, as, *Cassander*, *Grotius*, and many other of the middle Temper. The Cantons of *Switzerland* agree well in temperate things; and does not the famous Kingdom of *Poland* tolerate Diversity of Religions? and the great Emperor of *Muscovy* does the same. What Reason can be given by indifferent Men, why the Policy of *England* should be so singular, and so differing from that of all other Christian Kingdoms and Nations about her? Why should the *English* Government be more severe in this Point, than that of our Neighbours? It may seem something to reflect upon the Honour of our Nation, to mention the *Turk* in this Case; yet certainly it cannot be denied, but that Christians live quietly in the *Turk's* Dominions, and upon Conditions so easy, that the Catholics in *England* would be well contented with the like, who by the Grace of God have, and would demean themselves as loyally in all Points, as not to attempt any thing offensive to the State, or prejudicial to the publick Peace. There is nothing in the Catholick Religion inconsistent with Loyalty; and Catholics are in Truth better Subjects than Protestants have shewed themselves to be, generally speaking, considering

ring their Principles. Can any Man deny, but that there was a most horrid Rebellion carried on by Protestants in *England*? And the Catholicks hope, that having always wished well to his Majesty's Title, and prayed for his happy Succession to his Kingdoms, that their so long tried Fidelity will at last procure them some Liberty and Refreshment. I know, *Calvin* says, they are out of their Wits who desire to live under Sovereign Monarchies; and says, Order and Policy must needs decay, where one Man holds such an Extent of Government: And Kings, says he, oftentimes forget they are Men, and they are styled *Dei gratia*, for no other Purpose, but to shew that they acknowledge no Superior upon Earth, and that they usually make Choice of such Counsellours as can best fit their Humours, and accommodate themselves to their Appetites: So that he maketh Kings nothing the better for having Counsellours, whom he stains with an intolerable Scandal. And *Buchanan* says, *St. Paul* commands Obedience to Princes, in the Infancy of the Church; and if he had lived at this Time, he would have said otherwise. But as it is said, *Nullum unquam magnum ingenium sine aliqua mixtura insanie*; so *Buchanan* was a high-soaring Wit, and had some Tincture of Phrenzy: For had he been perfectly sound, he would never have let slip such a *Hysteron Proteron* as this from his Pen. And *Knox*, in his History of *Scotland*, not only justifies what *Buchanan* says, but would be content, that there

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there were publick Rewards appointed for such as murder Tyrants, as there are for such as kill Wolves; which is a most pernicious Doctrine, fit for nothing but to encourage a *Ravilliac*, or a *Poltrat*. Calvin, who writes in the Quality of a Divine, in his Institutions, makes a *Nebuchadnezzar* of all Kings, that he might not come short of his Predecessor *Martin Luther*.

I confess, Princes once dispossessed seldom recover their Hold again. There is none will deny, but that it is necessary the Government of all Princes should be regulated by Laws, and that Persons in Authority do observe those Rules that are prescribed to them by those to whom that Power belongs. I pretend not to enhance the Authority of Princes so far, as to exempt them from the Rule of Law, or to make them arbitrary in their Government: But when it is said, *Vos estis Dii*, they are justly established in the supreme Authority; and when *I have said, Ye are Gods*, surely it was intended rather to teach the World a Lesson of Obedience, than Rebellion; and Kings by those Words are justly established by divine Providence in the same Authority, and exempted from any popular Cognizance. It's proper only for God to say, *Transferam Regna de Gente in Gentem*: The Translating of Kingdoms is the extraordinary Dispensation of divine Providence, for Reasons known to God's secret Wisdom: And tho' this be done by the Hands of Men, yet are not the common People licensed thereby to run upon any irregular Designs

of their own Head, and to take Revenge of their Governours. *St. Paul* commands every Soul to pay Obedience and Honour to *Nero*, who was God's Lieutenant upon Earth, and had the Image of God upon him, that is, God's Authority, and was therefore to be used with due Honour and Reverence. When *Julian*, of a Christian Emperor, became Apostate, and persecuted the Christians with great Cruelty; tho' the People sharply reprov'd, and inveighed against his Proceedings, yet none of them took up Arms against him, to depose him of Dominion or Life; and if they thought it not expedient to do so against a Tyrant, who only acted by his exorbitant Passions, how much less would they have thought it lawful to be done against such Princes as govern legally, and do nothing against Religion. We must know, that Kings are to be considered in a double Capacity, of Nature, and of Policy: The Body Politick never dies, and so is never defective of Authority. The Acts of the Body Politick are not abated by the Natural Body's Access; the Body Politick is not disabled to govern by the Nonage of the Natural. So in the 4th of Queen *Elizabeth*, the Leases of the Dutchy of *Lancaster* made by King *Edward VI.* were resolved by all the Judges to be good, tho' made in the King's Minority: For tho' the King's Body Natural cannot judge, yet that disables not, that the Acts of his Minority, ordered by his Council or Regent, should be of no Validity. The Parliament certainly would not take it

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it well, if a Catholick should affirm, that the Change of Religion made by King *Edward VI.* was not warrantable, being done in his Minority, when he had not Age to discern what he did, being in the Hands of the Protector and *Northumberland.*

But, suppose the King breaks his Coronation Oath, may not many things happen after his Oath taken, to excuse him from Perjury? By Law, every Oath, how absolute soever, hath always this necessary Condition annexed tacitly, *viz. Rebus sic stantibus*, that things remain as they were, when the Oath was taken: But if such Alterations, which make either the Oath or Promise impossible, or unlawful to be performed, a Man doth not then commit Perjury, that breaks his Oath or Promise. What, if that which the King at his Inauguration promised for the Good of his People, cannot be observed, without great Damage to them? If the Condition of Affairs be so changed, Resolutions upon them must also change. *Dr. Bilson*, a great Divine, and a great Prelate of the Church of *England*, and chosen on Purpose by the great Statesmen of his Time, to write *Cum Privilegio*, puts the Question, Whether a King shall be deposed for breaking his Coronation Oath? And he answers in the Negative, and gives this Reason: *The People may not break with their Prince so often as he breaks with God: For*, says he, *Subjects cannot depose their Princes, to whom they must be subject for Conscience sake*; which Doctrine is quite contrary to what

is now taught. And farther, Dr. Bilson says, That *Subjects are forbidden to take Arms against their Princes*; the Reason hereof he says is invincible: For to him that may Kill and War against a Prince, Killing him is of Consequence inevitable. The Apostle, saith he, obeyed Tyrants that commanded all things against Religion; and in those things they did submit themselves with Meekness to endure the Magistrate's Pleasure, and not to obey his Will. And he concludes, That if the Laws of the Land appoint the Nobles, as next the King, to assist him in doing right, and to withhold him from doing wrong, then they are licensed by Man's Law to interpose themselves, but in no Case to deprive the Prince where the Scepter is inherited.

It is most manifest, that this Spirit of Reformation hath ever been, and is most dangerous to those Princes and States where it gets Footing. This was it which begat so many Conspiracies against Queen *Mary*: So that more Princes have been deposed and persecuted by Protestants their Subjects, upon the Difference of Religion, than have been by the Practices of any Catholick Subjects in any time before Queen *Mary's* Days, for Six Hundred Years. But we will send them to Doctor *Bilson*, a great Divine of their own Church, who holds it an Article of Faith, that Princes were not to be deposed; which was good Doctrine in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, tho' it was not thought so in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, who reigned not much above Five Years, and yet had more Insurrections

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rections raised against her in that small Time, than Queen *Elizabeth* had from the Catholicks in Forty Five Years; and yet Queen *Mary* was very merciful, and shewed much Compassion to such as deserved not well of her: To the Dutcheſs of *Somerset*; to Sir *John Clarke*, who had been a principal Corrupter of King *Edward* her Brother's Infancy; to the Lord Chief Justice *Montague*, who both counselled and subscribed to her Disinheriting; and to many others who were attainted, that neither affected her Religion nor Title, and were then Prisoners in the *Tower*; and yet she released them all: And for all this, the Zealots of her Time would not suffer her to enjoy any Quiet, but murmured against the Government of Women, and did conspire and plot her Deprivation, out of a Desire to advance her Successor, under whom they expected a golden Age. And *Knox* then said, the Nobility, Magistrates, and Judges, and the whole People of *England*, were bound in Conscience not only to oppose the Proceedings of that *Jezabel, Mary*, but even to have killed her, and all her Priests with her.

After the Death of this Queen, her Sister *Elizabeth* came to the Crown, and the whole Christian World stood amazed at such a sudden Alteration; and the rather, because Religion had been so lately and so solemnly restored by Parliament. Also, the Queen that now was had always professed her self a Catholick, during the Reign of her Sister, and did constantly

hear Mass, and went often to Confession; and in open Parliament, after her Intention for a Change in Religion, began to be discovered, she used Policy, at least; for she assured the *Roman* Catholicks, that no Trouble should arise to them for any Difference in Religion, which did much abate the Opposition that otherwise might probably have been made by the Catholick Party, and put the Clergy themselves in Hopes of some fair Quarter under her Government. She knew well, that a Prince alone, how sovereign soever, could not establish a new Religion in this Kingdom, without a Parliament to give Authority and Countenance to it; and therefore, to win the Bishops, and the rest of the Catholicks in Parliament, to Silence, at least, she was content to use Policy with them, and promise them fair; and she also thought good to qualify the Style somewhat, from *Supreme Head* changing it into *Supreme Governour*; which altered not the Sense, yet it abused some into a Belief, that the Queen pretended not much in Matters Ecclesiastical, as the King her Father had done, who was *Flagellum Dei*, the Scourge of God to the Church of *England*, and the first King in our Nation that ever tried the admirable Patience, Obedience, and Loyalty of his Catholick Subjects.

Nicephorus Phocas, the Emperor, was the nearest Parallel to this King that we meet with in all the Ecclesiastical History; for he resumed all Donations that had been made unto Monasteries and Churches in his Time; but
such

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such Afflictions followed him ever after, that *Basilus* his Successor (who was none of the best Emperors) was yet careful to abrogate those Laws of *Phocas* among his first Acts, as the Root of all the Calamities of those Times. Nor did any better Success attend King *Harrie's* Impieties. His exorbitant Lusts, which were the Original of all the Mischiefs which the Nation suffered, became at last his Torments. No King was ever more necessitated in Point of Treasure, in very few Years after that immense Treasure left him by his royal Father. Never did King lay more heavy Taxes upon his Subjects, and never any King did use more ignoble and unprincely Ways to raise Money; and to shew God's great Displeasure against him, he was frustrated of that which was pretended to be his chiefest Design, *viz.* Succession and Issue: All his noble Stems and Branches were taken away, one after the other, without Issue, and his Crown translated to another Name and Nation, God suffering him as a blind Man, to err and wander in all his Courses; and all the great Treasure which he had raked together upon the Ruine of the Church, was all spent in Excess and Vanity, and not to any Honour of the Kingdom, nor Ease of his Subjects, or Maintenance of the Borders, or Relief of the Poor (all which were at first mainly pretended) but at last all was employed in Tiltings, Masks, and Mummeries, and in pleasing and inviting his Mistresses, and to satisfy the greedy Appetites of those Solicitors of his Lust. And when

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the King had thus wearied his Subjects with a long and inglorious Reign, and that he found his Soul as much oppressed with the Guilt of his Sins, as his Body was become unweildy thro' his excessive Intemperance; he died (as some say) desirous to repent, and be reconciled to the Church; but what Effect his Desires had, is only known to God: And yet the Catholics took all patiently, raised no Tumults or Insurrections, but were Examples of the true *Israelites*, and did imitate, in some Measure, their divine Master's Meekness, and resolved rather to undergo God's just Punishment in the King's great Injustice, than to shew themselves like so many *Lutherans* or *Calvinists*, and had only the true Christian Arms, of Prayers and Tears, by Submission to God's Will.

Kings indeed ought to consider, that God hath placed them over his People, as Examples, to give Countenance to their Laws, by their own strict Observation of them; and that as their Subjects are to be protected by their Princes, so they are to be assisted and supported by each other, the Function of Kings being an Order by it self; and the Rebellion of Subjects ought to be looked upon by all other Kings as an Assault upon their own Sovereignty, and in some Degree a Design against Monarchy it self, and consequently to be suppressed in what Kingdom soever it is, with the like Concernment as if it were in their own Bowels: And all foreign Ministers, who ought to have been highly concerned for the Murder of *K. Charles I.*
by

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by his merciless Rebels, and to have vindicated that royal Blood, did scarce murmur at it, but made haste to send over their Emissaries to get a Share in the Spoils of a murdered Prince. And yet not one of those Monarchs and Princes, which bought all the costly Pictures, and rich Hangings and Furniture, ever restored any of their unlawful Purchases to the King after his most happy Restoration. 'Tis true, the then King of *Spain* expressed a very tender Sense of our King's Sufferings, and said, it concerned all Kings to join together, for Punishment of such an impious Rebellion, and cruel Parricide, whilst his own Ambassador, *Don Alonzo de Cardinas*, then in *England*, not only countenanced and joined with the Parliament, but bought the greatest and best Part of all the rare Pictures and rich Moveables, which he sold in *Spain* at great Rates: And whilst he was in *Flanders*, he gave Count *Fuensaldagna* a false Relation of the *English* Affairs, assuring him that the *English* Monarchy would never again be restored; and when it happened, he was laughed at by all. However, it is certain, that whilst that great Impostor *Cromwell* lived, his Power at Home was nothing considerable to what it was Abroad: For *France*, *Spain*, *Holland*, and all the neighbouring Princes feared him to that Degree, that there was nothing he could have demanded of them that they would have denied him.

No Man can deny, but that many well-meaning Men were seduced by the disguised Designs
of

of that mysterious Age, and by those Villains who always had in their Aim to destroy Monarchy, and unhinge the whole Frame of Government; and the sober Party were cozened by the Artifices of that loathsome Hypocrite, *Cromwell*: Till at last they were inspired with a Resolution to redeem themselves, their Religion and Liberties, which were treacherously taken from them by Deceit and Fraud; and to free themselves from the miserable Yoke they lay under, when they plainly saw, that Religion, Reformation, and Liberty, were only deceitful Baits to draw in the deluded Multitude: But still their most hopeful Designs not being carried on with that Prudence and Precaution which was necessary, they were always discovered, and did rather settle and confirm, than weaken the Rebellion; till that overruling Hand of Providence, which guides and determines the Affairs of the whole World, was most visibly seen in his Majesty's most happy Restoration.

It is no new thing for the worst of Men to make use of the sacred Name of Religion, to palliate their abominable Undertakings. The Ruine of pious Kings and Princes, the Overturning all Order in the World, the tragical Transactions of the last Age, the Convulsions of State, the Commotions of the People, the many Changes and Overturnings of Governours and Governments, were the sad Effects of the pretended Reformation; and all these Mischiefs were usher'd in with the Lamb-like, harmless

Voice

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Voice of Religion. They came indeed in Sheeps Cloathing, who inwardly were ravening Wolves. Some Mens Religion inclines them to Faction, and there is none so dangerous Faction as that which is nourished by the Corruption of false Religion. The *Jewish* Zealots and the *English* Enthusiasts are a plain Example of it; and therefore when Men make great Pretences, and begin to talk factiously, a fair Opportunity is very like to make them Rebels: And those who have seen what the Event of those Actions were in the Years of 1640 and 1641, when they saw the same things acted over again, and even by some of the same Men, they might easily and certainly expect the same Events: And if Men had seriously observed this, the same Men would never have played over the same Game twice in the same Age; which obliged the then Lord Chancellor to take Notice of it in his Speech to both Houses of Parliament, That he hoped they would not see three Kingdoms quite destroyed twice in one Age, by the same Methods; telling them, when Men were in their Wits, they would not fall into the same Pit, in which they had seen others fall before them, when even Beasts will not do it, let the Bait be what it will. But, alas! many of those who were the principal Makers of the first, were so far from falling into it, that they were the chiefeft Diggers of the second Pit, in which so many had fallen: And we were then come to that Pass, that it was an unpardonable Crime for any Man to look as if he thought the Cry of *Popery*! was false, and

and made a Property only (as it then really was) to serve some Mens Ends and Designs.

It was a great Fault in King *Charles I.* at least, a great Weakness in him, to divest himself of the Power of dissolving the Long Parliament, which was a just Prerogative belonging to him: And tho' the Parliament then said, that should not encourage them to do any thing which otherwise was not fit for them to do; yet they soon invaded the publick Liberty, and they who said they had no Mind to be Slaves, were yet willing to be Tyrants themselves, and would admit no Rules to govern by but their own Will; not considering the Misery of *Athens* was at the highest when it was governed by Thirty Tyrants. And therefore the wisest Course of Princes is frequently to summon Parliaments, and seasonably to dissolve them after their applying Cures to those Diseases they had discovered, whereby they would be of great Esteem to the Crown, as well as Veneration with the People, and not let them sit any longer, lest they should fall into Factions, and pretend to find Grievances where there are none. And if King *Charles II.* had lived some Years longer, he had certainly brought them to that Pass, and preserved *England* from the Distractions that have since followed; which his Majesty foresaw, and which caused him to make those frequent Intervals of Parliaments. And yet his Majesty declared unto them, That none of his Predecessors ever had a greater Esteem for Parliaments, the King believing them

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them to be the vital Part of the Constitution of the Kingdom, and so necessary for the Government of it, that neither Prince nor People could be happy without them; and looked upon their Counsels as the best he could receive, and was as tender of their Privileges, and as careful to preserve and protect them, as of his own royal Authority; knowing that all good Subjects would be jealous of any thing that might infringe or impair his royal Authority, his own Interest being entirely bound up with that of his Subjects. But they should consider, that Parliament Men sit as Subjects, not as Superiors, and that they are called to be the King's Counsellours, not Dictators, their Summons being only to recommend their Advice, not to command. They should be wise, dispassionate, good Patriots, to raise up those Banks and Fences which were cast down by Rebellion, in Hopes that the same Prosperity should spring up again from those Roots which it did heretofore, and hath always grown, tho' it was very hard to redeem our Nation from the Infamy it had undergone, and to restore it to all it had lost, and to make the King and People as happy as they ought to be; and there was nothing that the Parliament could propose for the Happiness of the Kingdom, in which the King did not contend with them to compass, the King not being only willing, but desirous to gratify his People, by securing their Religion, Liberties and Properties, by as many good Laws as the Parliament would

would propose. He was absolutely determined to do all that in him lay to glad the Hearts of his People, and gave them many Opportunities of providing for their Good; and it could not be imputed to his Majesty, that the Success did not answer his Expectation.

The particular Causes of the King's Dissatisfaction were such, that what he recommended to the House of Commons to avoid, they purposely fell into; and tho' the King solemnly promised to comply with any thing that would have been proposed for Security of the Protestant Religion as by Law established, that might consist with preserving the Succession of the Crown in its due and legal Course of Descent: Yet to all his Majesty's Offers he met with most unfuitable and most unwarrantable Returns. The King would most willingly have consented to any Expedient by which the Protestant Religion established might have been preserved, and the Monarchy not destroyed: But no Expedient would serve those ill-natured Gentlemen of the House of Commons, but the total Exclusion of the Duke of *York*, which his Majesty had so often declared, was a Point which in Honour, Justice and Conscience, he could not consent to. When this Bill of Exclusion was first set on Foot, it was well said, by a noble Person then in the House of Commons, That the King might outlive the Duke of *York*, and then all they were doing would be unnecessary; and why should they, to prevent that which might not be, attempt to do
that

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that which they could never justify, either to the King or Country. When the King found they went contrary to the direct Rules of Law, that he was deceived by them, and that the Follies and Imprudencies of the prevailing Party in the House of Commons (some of which had given Birth and Growth to the Miseries of the last Age) and were now pouring in Vinegar instead of Oil, into the Wounds of the Nation, and departed from that Fidelity which they owed the King, and that Zeal which they should have shewed to his Service, and that nothing would serve them of the same Leaven with those of 1641, but the total Exclusion of his Royal Highness succeeding to the Crown, and had prepared an Act for it, the King came in Person to the House of Lords, and sent for the Commons to attend him, in the Year 1680. The King then spake roundly to them, and told them how unsatisfied he was with their extravagant Proceedings, and desired to know speedily, how he should be assisted by them, and what they desired from him, assuring them in the Word of a King, that he would concur to any thing for the Security of the Protestant Religion, as it was established by Law, but still upon the same Terms he had formerly proposed to them, and that he would never do it otherwise.

But before the House of Commons went to the Lords, where the King in his Robes expected them, they passed those ensuing Votes: That the only Way for suppressing of Popery, was,

was, that a Bill should be brought in to banish immediately all the considerable Papists in *England*, out of the King's Dominions: That so long as the Papists had any Hopes of the Duke of *York*'s succeeding to the Crown, the King's Person, the Protestant Religion, the Lives, Liberties and Properties of all his Majesty's Protestant Subjects, were in apparent Danger to be destroyed. They farther voted, That a Bill should be brought in for an Association of all his Majesty's Protestant Subjects, for the Safety of his Majesty's Person, for Defence of the Protestant Religion against all Tyranny and Oppression whatsoever; and for preventing the Duke of *York*, or any Papist, for succeeding to the Crown. They did likewise declare, That it was the Opinion, that the Duke of *Monmouth* had been removed from his Offices and Commands, by the Influence of the Duke of *York*; and that an Address should be made to the King, to restore the Duke of *Monmouth* to his Offices and Commands; and resolved likewise (just before the King being in his Robes had sent for them to the Lords House to prorogue them) that whosoever advised the King to that Prorogation, which they said was done on Purpose against Passing the Bill for Exclusion of the Duke of *York*, was a Betrayer of the King, the Protestant Religion, the Kingdom of *England*, a Promoter of the *French* Interest, and a Pensioner of *France*. They also voted at the same time, That it was the Opinion of the House, that the City of *London*

was

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was burnt by the Papists in 1666, thereby designing to introduce Popery and Arbitrary Power. Upon these extravagant, insolent, and disloyal Votes, the King forthwith dissolved the Parliament.

Now the strangest thing was, that those who most pretended in the House of Commons for Reformation, had a bare-fac'd Contempt and Distaste of all Religion whatsoever, and not so much as the Shadow of Vertue: Men of the most licentious Lives, of the most seared Consciences, of the most profligate Reputation, that had bid Defiance to all Religion, and most diligently cultivated Atheism and Profaneness. It is indeed enough to move the most patient Man upon Earth, to consider what Foreheads of Steel and Adamant those impious Wretches had, who were thus confident to gull and impose upon the People of *England*, by seeming Zeal for Religion and Reformation: But such as rebel under Pretence of Religion, are most dangerous to the Government; they will pretend to defend the King's Person against Catholics, that themselves only might have the Honour of subverting the Government; so hard a thing it is to cure one that is bewitched with the Principles of Rebellion, that after many Years he shall return to his Trade as boldly as if his former Pranks had never been heard of. Fear of Popery, Arbitrary Government, and evil Counsellours, in my Memory, since the Year 1641, made our *English* Nation run mad, cost an infinite Treasure, with the Lives of

some Thousand *English*; and, in Conclusion, instead of Religion, setting up Enthusiasm; instead of Liberty, the Nation was enslaved to a military Power; instead of Property, Plunder, Sacrilege, and Sequestration; and they were just playing the same Game over again in this King's Time, if by little less than a Miracle, they had not been prevented: And whosoever throws off his Allegiance to his Sovereign, he renounces all Duty and Conscience towards God.

The King calls a Parliament by his own Writ and Authority (without which they cannot meet) to give him faithful Counsel about his most weighty Affairs; but he does not resign up his Interest and Freedom: He never subjects himself to their absolute Determination: He always weighs their Counsels, as coming from a Body entrusted by him; and when he dissents from them, he tells them the Reasons which prevailed with his Conscience and Understanding, with that Candor that a Prince should do towards his Subjects. A King should look upon his Parliament as his great Council, to whose Advice he should always have Regard: But a King should likewise look upon himself, as neither deprived of his Understanding, nor divested of any Right he had, if there was no Parliament sitting. The King's Power is undoubtedly very useful for his People's Liberty, and Parliaments ought not to set Bounds to their Princes; and wise Princes will never desire nor affect more Greatness or Prerogative, than

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than what is really for the Good of their Subjects.

The Truth is, since the happy Restoration of our King, his People were given up to too much Joy and Forgetfulness of our past Miseries; and there was not such a Return to God for his wonderful Blessings, as was due to the great Giver of them; and when we saw some Portion of that innocent royal Blood which was spilt, recompensed upon some of their Heads, who were the wicked Contrivers of that Parricide: When the Miseries of our Nation, and the Sufferings of the Royal Family were all recovered by the unerring Hand of divine Providence, without the Intervention of any foreign Prince, many of the same Men joining in the Settlement of our distracted Nation, who had before been active in the Destruction of their Country, to shew how sensible they were of their former Errors and great Miscarriages; it then manifestly appearing to them, and all others (who were not wilfully blind) that the Bill of Exclusion was carried on with that Violence, to facilitate the Dethroning of the King and his Successor, who had ventured his Blood as frankly both by Sea and Land, in the Good of the Country, as the meanest Subject in it; and had manifested his unalterable Loyalty and Affection to his Majesty and his Subjects, by reducing *Scotland* to Obedience, whose Conduct in that Affair was both wise and prosperous.

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Now, when the Nation had scarce wiped their Eyes dry for the Blood of the incomparable Father, they were ready to be drowned again in Tears for the Murder of the succeeding Son, if their Cruelty had been effected. The Rage of those Rebels in the Long Parliament had only the Blood of one King for its Gratification; but here the Rebels intended to have glutted their Thirst of Blood, by murdering Two at one Blow, the King with his Royal Brother: And to give their Inhumanity the highest Ascent, they were preparing to murder a Prince whose august Majesty had not only enobled the Nation, and once more restored it from its lost Reputation abroad, but made his own Kingdom (as he then had Reason to think) an Ark of Safety at home, when almost all other Christian Nations were deluged in Blood and Confusion.

Who would have imagined a Design should be laid to murder that King, the Blood of whose Royal Father still cried for Vengeance? Who would imagine, that he who was restored almost by a Miracle, when the People of *England* ran chearfully into Obedience, and met his Majesty with Duty and Love, and received him with triumphant Hosanna's, with many Protestations of Sorrow for their former Mis-carriages, and with many Vows of Loyalty and Obedience? Who would have thought, after so many Promises of making him a Glorious King! After such Acts of Indemnity granted to such Monsters of Rebels! After such Profusions of

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of royal Bounty to such undeserving Villains! After so many Professions of the Care they would have for the Preservation of his sacred Life! After so many specious Addresses of his most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, as they called themselves? Who, I say, would imagine, that after all this, any Man could be found to conspire to murder his sacred Majesty? As if all his Condescensions and Favours had been Injuries to make Reprisals upon his Life; and then resolved to revenge his Death upon others, when they were doing it themselves. In the Bill of Exclusion, the Duke of *York* was to be set aside for the King's Preservation; but in this Plot the King was to be murdered for the Duke's sake; and both King and Duke being taken in the same Dilemma (after the Presbyterian Logic) were to be sacrificed: And had their Conspiracy taken Effect, they would so far have extenuated the Matter, that Cutting of Throats would only be called a *Scotch* Way of Trimming, and the Destruction of the King and Duke, to be no more but a perfecting the Work of entire Reformation: And if this Conspiracy had succeeded, it would have put an End to our national Constitution, and a Period to the very Fundamentals of all human Society.

I know no Deliverances come nearer to those of King *David*, than those wonderful Deliverances of this King: First from his Escape at *Worcester*, and from so many *Sheba's* and *Achitophels*, which God from time to time wrought for him; which perhaps no Age, no State, no

History can shew the like; But this Conspiracy was the more terrible, in that *Achitophel* was in the Head of it, who had corrupted and debauched the counterfeit *Abſalom*. *Achitophel*! that false and treacherous Villain; that dextrous Man at Wickedness; that cunning crafty Politician, who had been President of the King's Council, who was esteemed as an Oracle! That hardened Traitor, who stole away, that he might die in his Bed, when it was Pity that such an inveterate and advising Rebel should have died any other Way, than by the Hand of Justice, which he had certainly done without an *Ignoramus Jury*, when the highest Treason was formed by such working Heads, and conducted by such politick Counsels; for it was not only countenanced and abetted by the *Faces* of the People, but was really encouraged by some of the Nobility, who had affronted his Majesty, by Petitioning, Protesting, and Caballing, which gave the seditious Faction a full Assurance, that they were powerful enough to overturn the Monarchy, their Design being to be executed by such desperate Villains, that nothing less could be expected, than the Kingdom's inevitable Ruine, had not the King been miraculously preserved.

But how shameful a thing was it, that Persons of Birth and Quality should condescend to be Tools, and to creep in the Dust, to humour a base, unworthy, disloyal Faction, taken out of the Dregs of the People? That they should endeavour to extinguish that Light from whence they derived their own Lustre, and to shine
only

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only by the Favour of an inconstant heady Multitude, and the King's Death (however it happened) was to be put upon the *Roman Catholics*; and those Rebels had a Person ready to take upon him the Government, whose Presumption in the next Reign, owning his false Title to the Crown, brought him to end his Life upon a Scaffold, instead of a Throne, which he aimed at; and if he had gained his Point, he had entailed War and Blood to our unborn Posterity; against which no Caution could certainly be too great, nor against that Distemper from which we were so miraculously recovered, when there was no Cause to fear the Loss of Religion, Liberty, and Property; neither did they believe themselves, who pretended to be afraid of them. The Moderation of a Prince was never more shewed than by this King, who then suffered so much licentious Talk to pass unpunished; and there appeared fewer Grievances in his Time than had ever been before, and *England* seemed never more happy than at this Time: And it was a strange Ingratitude of those who seemed ill at Ease under so temperate a Government, who were yet so numerous in the House of Commons, that they out-voted the best Men in it; which made the King often prorogue them, which proved fatal to his Successor, tho' this King did all that was possible, to keep his People in Peace whilst he lived, and to leave them so when he died; which puts me in Mind of a prophetic Saying of this King to me, some Years before his Death.

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About two Years before the Death of King Charles II. he gave me Leave to come into England, and sent the *Katherine* Yacht to *Ostend* for me. Some Days after my Arrival at *White-hall*, he commanded me to walk with him to *Hyde Park*; and as I walked with him (the rest of the Company keeping at a good Distance) he told me, that I had served him very well at *Brussels*, and that his Brother had given him a very good Account of my Carriage towards him there. His Majesty then told me, that I had served him as Agent and Resident for many Years; and tho' he constantly used to change his Ministers, at least their Station, every three Years; that yet I had served him so much to his Satisfaction, that he was resolved never to remove me from *Brussels* whilst he lived, especially during the Wars in *Flanders*, because I had always given him a very particular Account of them, and that I knew that Country very well, and the Interest of all the great Men in it; and that I was there very well approved of, and that my Diligence and Activity in his Service had been very considerable in those troublesome Times: And, after having asked me many Questions about the Nobility of those Countries, he said, that during his Exile abroad, he had seen many Countries, of which none pleased him so much as that of the *Flemings*, which were the most honest and true-hearted Race of People that he had met with; and then added, *but I am weary of travelling, I am resolved to go abroad no more: But when*
I am

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I am dead and gone, I know not what my Brother will do: I am much afraid, that when he comes to the Crown, he will be obliged to travel again: And yet I will take Care to leave my Kingdoms to him in Peace, wishing he may long keep them so. But this hath all of my Fears, little of my Hopes, and less of my Reason; and I am much afraid, that when my Brother comes to the Crown, he will be obliged again to leave his native Soil. This Discourse of the King's I have often remembered with much Grief and Sorrow, which hath been true in all its Circumstances; And certainly had this King loved Business as well as he understood it, he had been the greatest Prince of his Time.

Some time after my Return to Brussels, in the Year 1684, I received this following Letter from the Earl of Sunderland, who was then Principal Secretary of State, in whose Province I was, dated April 14, 1684.

S I R,
I Am commanded by his Majesty to let you know, that in Case the Duke of Monmouth should come into Flanders, he would not have you take any Notice of him; and his Majesty would have you acquaint his Subjects in those Parts with the Directions I send you, to the End they may likewise conform themselves to his Majesty's Pleasure in their Behaviour.

I am, Sir, Your most Humble Servant,
SUNDERLAND.

About

About this time, several *English* and *Scotch* Officers came daily to see me from the Prince of *Orange's* Camp then at *Dighnin* near *Brussels*; and some of them being very inquisitive to know what News I had from *England*, the Time being then very critical, I shewed them my Lord *Sunderland's* Letter to me, which, it seems, had such Influence upon some of them, that the next Day, when the Duke of *Monmouth* went from *Brussels* to the Prince of *Orange's* Camp, which he did very frequently, and the Prince of *Orange* had given a general Order, that whenever the Duke of *Monmouth* entered the Camp, the whole Army should stand to their Arms. But that Day, when the Duke entered the Camp, some *English* and *Scotch* Officers did neither stand to their Arms, as the Duke passed by them, nor their Companies; of which Neglect the Duke of *Monmouth* took particular Notice, and complained to his Highness of their Neglect. Whereupon the Prince forthwith sent for those Officers, and sharply reprehended them for not obeying his Orders; who thereupon told the Prince, that the *English* Resident had given them Orders not to do it, Whereat the Prince was very angry; which being told me by some of the Officers, I went the next Day, with Intention to dine with the Prince, and had my Lord *Sunderland's* Letter in my Pocket. But when I came to the Prince's Quarters, being informed that the Duke of *Monmouth* was there, I thought not fit to stay,
but

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but dined with one of the *English* Collonels in the Camp; and after Dinner I waited on the Prince, and was conducted into his Cloſet, where the Prince came preſently, and after uſual Salutation, his Highneſs asked me, how I came to give Orders to the Officers of his Army not to ſtand to their Arms when the Duke of *Monmouth* entered his Camp? I told the Prince, that I never gave them any Orders; That I had, at their earneſt Requeſt, ſhewed them a Letter I had newly received from my Lord *Sunderland*; and that if his Highneſs pleaſed, I would ſhew it him. Whereupon he deſired to ſee it; and after reading it privately to himſelf, he preſently told me, if I had done no more than ſhewed them the Letter, I had done no more than my Duty, and that it was the Fault of his Officers in not obeying his Commands: That for the King of *England*, he might do what he pleaſed, in ſending for his Officers and Soldiers, none of which he would keep againſt their Wills; but whiſt they ſerved him, he pretended they ſhould do their Duty, and obey his Commands: And ſo I took my Leave of the Prince, without going into the other Room, where the Duke of *Monmouth* Mr. *Bentinck*, and ſeveral General Officers were.

The Sixth of *February* following, which was in the Year 1684, I received this enſuing Letter from the Earl of *Synderland*.

S I R,

S I R,
UPON Monday last his late Majesty was taken very ill by an Apoplectick Fit. The next Day he was much better, and continued so on Wednesday: But after growing much worse yesterday, his Distemper at length overcame him, so that it pleased God to call him to himself this Day about Noon; whereupon the Lords of the Council immediately assembled, and Order was given, that his Majesty should be proclaimed, which was done accordingly. God grant him a long and prosperous Reign. I am, Sir,
 Your Affectionate Friend and Servant,
 SUNDERLAND.

After this, the 9th of February following, I had this Letter from his Lordship,

S I R,
I Sent you an Account on Friday, of the late King's Death, and of the Proclaiming his present Majesty James II. who commands me to tell you, that he would have you continue your Function as his Minister, and to pursue such Orders and Instructions as have been hitherto given or sent you. I am, Sir,
 Your most Humble Servant,
 SUNDERLAND.

The 6th of April following I had from Whitehall this ensuing Letter from the Earl of Sunderland.

S I R,

S I R,
I Have, according to your Desire, moved his Majesty for Leave for you to make a Step over hither, which he is pleased to allow of, but would not have your Stay here to be long. As to the Time of your coming, his Majesty leaves it to you, and will send a Pacht to conduct you, not doubting but that you will make use of this Permission so, as that your Absence from your Station may be no Prejudice to his Service. I am, Sir,
 Your Affectionate Friend and Servant,
 SUNDERLAND.

I had another Letter from his Lordship, dated at the Court at Windsor, August 24, 1685.

S I R,
HIS Majesty not having fully resolved yet what Style to give the present Governour of Flanders, and thinking your Presence there to be very necessary, commands me to signify to you, that he would have you forthwith go to Brussels, and be there incognito, till such time as your Credentials are sent you. You may excuse your not having your Credentials, by saying you were dispatched in Haste, and expect them every Day: And if in the mean time, the Governour of Flanders shall be willing to admit you as Envoy, his Majesty allows you to shew the Title of your private Instructions under his Majesty's own Hand, which expresses the Character you have.

I am, Sir, Your most Humble Servant,
 SUNDERLAND.
 Whilst

Whilst I was in *England*, the *Marquis de Grana*, who was Governour General of the *Spanish Netherlands*, being not well in his Health, retired to *Marimont* in *Hennault*, and after some Days Sickness, he died there by a great Stoppage of Urine; and *Don Antonio d'Agusto*, who was then *Maitre de Camp General* of the Army, was forthwith declared Governour *pro interim*, wherein he behaved himself so well, that by the Interest of the King my Master, and of the Prince of Orange, he was confirmed absolute Governour with all its Privileges, and continued Governour for Six Years, and was then outed of his Government by the Interest of the Prince of Orange, who was then more against him, than his Highness was before for him; for finding he was made *Marquis de Gastanaga*, and that he had a great and private Veneration for King *James II.* my Master, the Prince of Orange thereupon used his utmost Endeavour to out him of the Government of *Flanders*; and one of the Articles which the Prince of Orange sent to *Madrid* against the *Marquis de Gastanaga*, was, That he had held several private Conferences with me, after the Prince of Orange had sent me Letters of Revocation from my Function of Envoy: But the King my Master did not discover this till it was too late to remedy it; the Prince of Orange being very averse to all that had any Veneration for my Master *James II.* or that were Friends to his Majesty: And that the *Marquis de Gastanaga* was his Majesty's
real,

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real, tho' secret Friend, may be seen by the Letters which he wrote to me, whilst I was in England, in the Duke of Monmouth's Rebellion; and after the Prince of Orange had discharged me from my Employment, he made Mr. Ekart, a Switzer, his Resident at the Court of Brussels; who dying soon after, the Prince of Orange made Mr. Wolseley his Envoy in the Court of Brussels, where he continued for some Years; but he was found to be a very lazy and unactive Man, and gave no Satisfaction to the Elector of Bavaria, who succeeded the Marquis de Gastanaga, and continued Governour during the Life of the Prince of Orange, since whose Death there hath been a great Change of Affairs by the Battle of Ramillies, and most of Flanders is now reduced under the Government of the Archduke Charles.

Whilst I was with King James my Royal Master, I received many Letters from Don Antonio Agusto, who was then Governour *pro interim* of the Spanish Netherlands, by which it will appear how much he was in the Interest of the King my Master; the first of which was of the 6th of July 1685.

Monsieur,

Votre Lettre de 2me que j'ay receue aujourd'hui m'apporte deux differents sujets de joye: l'un pour la part que vous avez bien voulu prendre à mon Elevation au Gouvernement general de ces Pays, dont je vous suis fort obligé. L'autre, & plus principal, pour les bonnes nouvelles

uelles que vous me donnez, de l'heureux succès
des Troupes de Roy sur les Rebelles, dont
j'espere d'apprendre bientot l'entiere defaite. Je
souhaite avec tant de passion le bien & le repos
de sa Majesté, & je le juge d'une telle importance
pour vous, qu'il n'y a personne du monde qui
prend plus du part, ni que l'intéresse plus que
moy a ses avantages. Ces sont des sentimens que
je conserveray toute ma vie pour sa personne
royale, & vous ne pouvez me faire un plus grand
plaisir, que de me continuer de si agréables nou-
velles que celles que vous venez de me donner.
Vous pouvant assurer, que je suis, Monsieur,
Vôtre Tres-affectionné Serviteur,
D. Antonio Agustó.

The 10th of July following I received this
ensuing Letter from his Excellency.

Monsieur,

JE reçois hier soir votre Lettre du 6me. Je
vous suis bien obligé des nouvelles que vous
me donnez de par de là, qui me sont agréables
à mesure, que j'apprens la defaite des Rebelles,
dont j'espera de voir bientôt l'entiere ruine, &
que sa Majesté jouira d'une parfaite paix &
tranquillité dans son regne, qui est ce que je luy
souhaite de tout mon cœur, pour son bien propre,
& pour celuy de toute la Chrestienté. Conti-
nuez moy je vous prie des avis, & croyez que
je suis, Monsieur,

Vôtre Tres-affectionné Serviteur,
D. Antonio Agustó.

The

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The 24th of the same Month of July, I received this ensuing Letter from his Excellency.

Monsieur,

QUOY que j'avois été bien aise de voir par la vôtre du 16me le bon Estat ou les Troupes du Roy se trouvoient, j'ay eu une joye bien plus particuliere d'apprendre presque au mesme temps par un advis de Neiuport, que les Rebelles avoient été entierement deffaits, ce qui nous a été confirmé hier par la voyé de Hollande. Je vous assure, Monsieur, que je ne pus recevoir de ma vie, des nouvelles plus agreables, dont vous pouvez hardiment temoigner ma joye par de la, & qu'il n'y a personne du monde qui prend plus de part que moy, a cet heureux succez. Je vous en felicite de tout mon cœur, & j'attens avec impatience l'arrivee du Courier pour en sçavoir les particularitez, & que l'on aura finy entierement cette Rebellion qui ne pouvoit qu'alarmer ceux qui s'interressent comme moy aux avantages, bien & repos de sa Majesté Britannique. Je vous prie, Monsieur, de me continuer de vos nouvelles, & de croire que je suis, Monsieur,

Votre Tres-affectionné Serviteur,
D. Antonio d'Agusto,

The 10th of August 1685, I received this following Letter from his Excellency at Brussels,

F f

Monsieur,

Monsieur,

JE vois par vôtre Lettre du 6me la confirmation de la prise des Rebelles, & de la découverte de leur trahison, & je ne puis assez remercier le bon Dieu de cet heureux succès, & du repos qu'il luy a plu de reestabli dans ce royaume: puisque je considere la chose non seulement tres-importante pour sa Majesté Britannique, mais aussi d'une tres-grande consequence pour toute la Chrétienté, & particulièrement pour tout ce qui regarde le Roy mon Maistre, dont les interets son si unis, & si inseparables de ceux de ce royaume. Pour moy, en mon particulier, j'ay tant d'obligations à sa Majesté Britannique, pour les honneurs qu'elle m'a tousjours fait, & pour les bon sentiments qu'elle veut bien avoir pour moy, que je dois prendre plus de part que personne du monde, dans tous ses bonheurs & prosperitez qui s'augmenteront jusques à l'infy, si elles correspondent à mes bons soubaits, & aux vœux qu'à cette fin, je feray toute ma vie, comme je feray connoistre pendant que je serviray dans les Gouvernement de ces Pais, & par tout ailleurs ou je me trouveray. Faites moy le plaisir cependant, Monsieur, de me continuer de vos nouvelles, & de croire, que je suis, Monsieur,

Vôtre Tres-affectionné Serviteur,

D. Antonio Agusto.

The

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The 24th of this Month of *August*, we had an Account from *Spain*, that *Don Antonio Agusto* was made *Marquis de Gastanaga*, and declared Governour General of the *Spanish Netherlands*; and I received this ensuing Letter from his Excellency, whilst I was at the Court at *Windsor*.

Monsieur,

JE ne puis recevoir un avis plus agreable que celui que vous me donnez, de v^{otre} prochain retour icy, avec la qualite d'Envoye du Roy de la Grande Bretagne. Je m'assure, que vous ne douterez point de la verite de ce que je viens de dire, quand vous voudrez faire reflection sur la satisfaction que je dois avoir, & ay en effect, de la generosite & sincerite que j'ay remarquee en tout v^{otre} Procédé. Vous avez raison de dire, Monsieur, qu'il ne se peut que l'intention du Roy v^{otre} Maistre ne soit que d'être sincere, dans une parfaite bonne intelligence avec le Roy mon Maire, puisque il nous envoie un personne qui scait bien vos intersts, & qui me doit être chere par tant de considerations, revetue d'un caractere qui marque l'estime que sa Majesté a pour nous, & l'amitie qu'il a pour ces Provinces de mon Gouvernement; & je tacheray d'en mériter la confirmation, en faisant tout ce que sa Majesté pourra desirer de moy, en faveur de ses sujets, & leur rendre la plus prompte justice, & par cet moyen, je tacheray de luy donner des marques du profond respect que j'ay pour la per-

F f 2

sonne

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sonne de sa Majesté, & les preuves des sentimens que j'ay de vótre merite : Et comme vous avez eu la bonté de prendre beaucoup d'intérest à tout ce qui ne touche, & en particulier envers le Roy vótre Maistre, de mon coste aussi je prendray tousjours à cœur vos interêts, avec toute l'affection & sincerité, avec laquelle je suis, Monsieur,

Vótre Tres-affectionné Serviteur,

Le Marquis de Gastanaga.

Postscriptum written with his own Hand.

Sachant, Monsieur, que je trouveray tousjours la mesme disposition en vous, il ne se peut que je ne me rejouisse, quand je considere, que j'auray à negotier avec un Ministre si capable, & si bien intentionné, que vous. A cette raison, je soubaite ardemment de vous voir revenir icy bientot.

Le Roy mon Maistre a demande cette Lettre, laquelle j'ay donnée à sa Majesté.

Here follows the Copy of the Letter I wrote to his Excellency from *Windsor*, the 18th of *August* 1685, who was first declared Governour *pro interim*, upon the Death of the *Marquis de Grana*, and afterwards was declared Governour General of the Low Countries for the

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the King of Spain, and continued Six Years in that Government.

Monsieur,

J'Ay bien reçu l'honneur de celle que votre Excellence avoit la peine de m'écrire, & quoy que je retourneray bientôt à Bruxelles, avec le Caractere d'Envoyé du Roy mon Maistre, cependant je dois estre regarde icy de votre Excellence non autrement qu'un homme privé, & un de plus ordinaires sujets de sa Majesté, qui n'est plus Ministre public, ni admis dans ses affaires: par consequent mes Lettres ne peuvent contenir que les complimens d'un homme oisif, mais en attendant j'espere que votre Excellence ne manquez pas dans Windsor d'une personne entierement devouée à son service, & empressée à recevoir ses ordres tandis qu'elle fera son séjour icy. Et je scay bien, que Monsieur Don Pedro Ronquillos est trop bien à elle Cour, & d'ailleurs trop eclaire, & trop exact pour m'avoir pas informé votre Excellence de tout ce qu'il doit scavoir par raport à notre Cour. Sur tout il n'aura pas je m'assure manqué de luy parler de l'amitié & de l'estime de sa Majesté pour la personne de votre Excellence. Il vous aura aussi entretenu des heureuses dispositions que sa Majesté conte de trouver dans l'Assemblée du Parlement, pour l'augmentation de ses Finances, & pour la seureté de ses interests, tant au dedans qu'au dehors de ses Estats. J'espere que votre Excellence ne me scaura pas mauvais gré d'avoir donné à sa Majesté sa Lettre,

Lettre, dans laquelle elle a donné les marques si evidentes de la part qu'elle prend en tout ce qui regarde la grandeur de sa Majesté, laquelle ayant pris depuis long temps beaucoup de part dans tout ce qui touche la personne & les intersts de vôtre Excellence. Et à present j'espère bien qu'e étant pourveüe d'une charge aussi importante qu'est celle de Gouverneur General des Pays-Bas, je n'ay pû manquer en luy donnant ; & Para bien, & temoigner la joye que j'en ay ressentie pour plusieurs raisons : Car puisque dans le Poste où je suis, il me sera tousjours necessaire de negotier avec vôtre Excellence, je serai fort aise d'avoir une liaison d'affaires avec celuy, avec qui j'ai deja des liaisons d'amitié : Je me felicite d'avoir à faire a un sage dispensateur, qui m'a deja donné tant des marques de sa noble & judicieuse maniere d'agir. Avec quelle joye n'ai je point veu vôtre penchant particulier, à effectuer la bon correspondance entre les deux couronnes de nos Maitres : & je me fais un plaisir de penser, que par la bonne conduite de vôtre Excellence, on fera tel bon reglement, touchant nos Marchands Anglois a Ostende, qu'on mettra fin à leurs plaintes & miseres. Je crois que vôtre Excellence s'est deja proposé a la faire, vous asseurant, qu'une telle conduite sera fort satisfactoire au Roy mon Maistre, & à tous les Marchands. Cette conduite sauvera le soin au Roy mon Maistre de songer à un nouveau Gouverneur, & luy fera prendre la partie de prolonger vôtre Gouvernement. Mes vœux ne manqueront jamais à vôtre Excellence, &
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veux toutes les fois
votre Excellence : car
soit avec plus d'estime &
ne je suis, Monsieur, de votre Ex-
cellence,

Le Tres-humble & Tres-obeissant Serviteur,

R. BULSTRODE,

F I N I S.





F. I. M. I.



